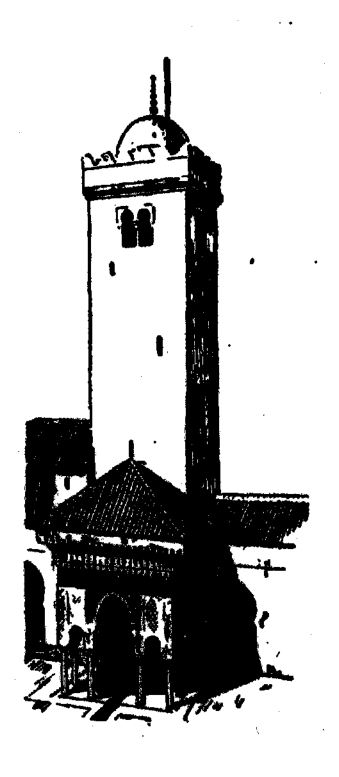
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FACULTÉ DES LETTRES ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES

HESPÉRIS TAMUDA



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La revue HESPERIS-TAMUDA est consacrée à l'étude du Maroc, de son sol, de ses populations, de sa civilisation, de son histoire, de ses langues et, d'une manière générale, à l'histoire de la civilisation de l'Afrique et de l'Occident musulman. Elle continue, en les rassemblant en une seule publication, HESPERIS, qui était le Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, et TAMUDA, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, qui paraissait à Tétouan.

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SOMMAIRE - SUMARIO

ARTICLES — ARTÍCULOS

COMPTES RENDUS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES — RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS

AN URBAN VIEW OF MOROCCAN HISTORY SALE, 1000-1800

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INTRODUCTION

LOCAL HISTORY AND NATIONAL HISTORY

This historical sketch of Salé originally was undertaken in order to become familiar with the background of the society of that city, as it existed during the decades before and after the establishment of the French

Protectorate in 1912 [1]. Salé's history prior to the expansion of European industrialized civilization into North Africa in the nineteenth century is of interest in and of itself, and each of the chapters and most of the aspects treated in this essay could be studied profitably in detail on their own right. Thus, what follows does not represent in any way an exhaustive history of Salé. Rather it is an interpretive description of the past of this particular Moroccan city.

Let me not be misunderstood. The interpretation evolved from a reading of all of the available sources, at least insofar as I was aware of and had access to them. But, in addition to the usual sifting, choice and organization of documentation for the purposes of narration, two considerations were constantly in mind: 1) What social, economic and cultural processes had most influenced the shape of Salé, that is, metaphorically, the distinctive character of the city and its community? 2) How did the nineteenth century historiographers from Salé conceptualize the past of their own city and community? I have not set these two views one against another but have tried to weave them together into my own historical interpretation. Hopefully, the reader will by this method appreciate the substance of the past of Salé and learn how the Slawis themselves were affected by and used their past.

An historical overview of a Moroccan city should also contribute to our understanding of Morocco's past. The microscopic, local investigation of Salé brings its particularities into relief but, at the same time, it points to features that exist in most Moroccan cities and are a part of a national heritage. In that sense the community of Salé in its move through history can be considered a microcosm of Moroccan society. I state advisedly that Salé has been a community throughout its history. By community I mean a more or less clearly defined aggregate of inhabitants, living together within generally recognized territorial limits and sharing some common modes of thought and action. The community of Salé was united to the extent that its individuals had a sense of belonging together, of

(1) The results of my research in France and Morocco (1965-1967) were submitted as a Ph. D. dissertation in Islamic Studies: *The Social History of a Moroccan Town: Salé, 1830-1930.* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1969.)

forming a coherent society in contradistinction to others, to outsiders. For the nineteenth century this is readily shown by sociological analysis. In this essay, the coherence of the community is implicit in the historical argument, for, unfortunately, we lack sufficient documentation for detailed sociologies of the city at various times in its history. Thus, it should be clear, my reach to comprehend the structure of the community as it changed through time has exceeded my grasp. Nonetheless, I believe that it can be shown that Salé provided a specific foreground for its inhabitants' eccentric view of the world. As a city its experience and ethos differed from those of other Moroccan cities by degree if not in nature.

Geography placed Salé on the path of almost all of the important political movements of Moroccan history. A port along the main road from the inland capitals of Fez and Marrakesh, it experienced with immediacy the steady stream of peoples, goods and ideas that shaped Moroccan history over the centuries. Salé came to resemble Fez in some ways, Marrakesh in others. It had in its architecture and the mores of its people an urban refinement comparable to that of Fez, though less elegant, enclosed and self-assured. It shared, although to a much lesser extent, something of the expansive, rustic sedentariness that characterized Marrakesh. What contributed most to the uniqueness of Salé was its coastal site along the Atlantic Ocean and at the southwest extremity of the great wheat growing region of the Gharb. Despite its favorable position, however, Salé never became the great economic center of Morocco that one might have expected. It remained a marginal, frontier type city whose national role was limited to acting as an intermediate stopping-off point between the northern and southern capitals.

The periodization of local history is as problematical as is the periodization of national history. Both, as interpretations, leave themselves open to criticism. The six chapters into which this essay divides itself constitutes a model of the micro-history of Salé and suggests as well a macro-history of Morocco.

In the first three chapters the discussion of Salé's development parallels the major changes in Morocco, from the principalities of the Idrisid period through the expansion of the Almoravid and Almohad empires to the cultural flourishing of the Marinid Kingdom. In these chapters I have

emphasized the Islamic qualities of the city—a center of *jihâd*, a gathering place for the pious and learned, a metropolis of urban culture, and the social and economic ones—a melting-pot and entrepot.

The arrangement of the last three chapters reflects a view of the movement of Moroccan history from a position of unity and expansiveness to one of fragmentation and contraction. Salé has been discussed as an example of marabutism, as a kind of city-state and as a society on the decline and defensive, which while dependent on central authority retained limited autonomy. Here I consider the salient characteristics of the city more from the local perspective than the national one, with particular attention to patron saints and heroes, relationships to neighbors and internal groupings. During these centuries, the fifteenth through the eighteenth, piracy and trade, internal cohesiveness and conflict mark the evolution of Salé's fortune and formation.

Neither the history of Salé, nor of Morocco, should be characterized, in my estimation, as cyclical, Ibn Khaldûn notwithstanding. My interpretation of Salé's history, to be sure, identifies the century ending with the death of Abū ᶜInān (d. 1358) as the « Grand Siècle » of Morocco, viewing what preceeded it as expansion and unity and what followed it as contraction and fragmentation. This movement, however, does not completely account for the lines of development in Salé. The analysis of its history defies a simple motor system of rise and fall, determined by some form of indigenous creative or destructive energies. During each of the periods of Salé's history described here, profound changes were taking place within the community. Cultural and economic life sometimes flourished in the city while, from the perspective of Moroccan history on the national level, conditions in the country deteriorated. Indeed, to some extent, Salé was sheltered from developments in the interior. Conversely, influences from outside, usually from Europe, often made themselves more strongly felt in Salé than elsewhere in Morocco. To be sure, recent studies have argued convincingly that the effects of economic forces external to Morocco have been vastly underestimated in the earlier histories of the area (2).

(2) Cf. the analysis of North African history in terms of the fluctuations of gold trade with the Sudan and Europe by Y. Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldun. Naissance de l'histoire passée du tiers-monde* (Maspero: Paris, 1966) and the hypotheses of A. Laroui concerning the impact of European military and economic agressiveness on Moroccan developments in *L'histoire du Maghreb* (Maspero: Paris, 1970).

Unfortunately, in this study of Salé, just as in the available histories of Morocco, economic realities remain elusive. I have tried to present all of the material that I found relating to the ways in which the community earned its livelihood. But the documentation at hand is all too inadequate for either descriptive or analytic purposes. In my study of nineteenth century Salé, I have written about these matters at length, thanks to the pioneering work of Miège. For the earlier periods, it has only been possible to suggest along most general lines how trade (maritime with Europe and overland with Africa), agriculture and manufacturing fluctuated in Salé. However, the sources do provide information on a striking aspect of economic life in Salé: the close relationship between the city and its agriculturally rich hinterland. But the nuances and variations of this symbiosis over time cannot be documented, and most of the essential questions concerning economic life have remained unanswered.

The effects of Salé's economic growth are more readily discernible than their causes. The steady influx of peoples from other cities in North Africa and al-Andalus and from the Arab and Berber countryside made Salé a melting-pot in which urban and rural ways of life came together On the whole, these immigrants were absorbed into the social fabric of the city. Nonetheless, the city retained a split within itself, in which urban and rural ways of life co-existed. Parts of the city had a distinctly rustic feel to them, while others seemed the very example of urbanity. Once again, alas, we lack the necessary evidence to describe the society in detail or to understand how it changed over the centuries.

Despite our lack of precision, it is clear that Salé was almost always an open-ented city, marked throughout its history by the constant immigration of a variety of types of individuals and groups. While absorbed by the city, these immigrants themselves molded its personality by bringing with them, in some instances, folk traditions, in others, highly developed classical, urban Islamic styles of life. The most profound effects on Salé's character resulted from the arrival of mystics, deviants from other societies, runaway adventurers, men seeking refuge as well as economic opportunities.

Salé seems never to have been a large city. On the basis of relatively reliable figures from the nineteenth century, its population numbered on

the order of 14,000 persons. We know nothing concrete about the fluctuations of population movement or demographic growth or decline, just as we ignore urban-rural ratios of population at given times. Furthermore, the structure of the community, its groups and the alliances or conflicts among them, escape our grasp. What we have in the sources are episodes which point to certain social tensions. But invariably it is the moral solidarity of the community in the face of threats from the outside that most impresses us. For all the strands of its population, Salé appears to have been a kind of crucible in which men became tied to one another in a single urban society of interlocking parts.

The bits and pieces of evidence and the surmises that have been woven into this description add nuances to, but do not contradict the more elaborate image of Salé presented by its historiographers, an-Nāṣirī (d. 1894) and ad-Dukkālī (d. 1945). For these traditional scholars Salé and its people represent the highest form of urban civilization in Morocco, with the possible exception of Fez. They view the city's past essentially in terms of the high achievements of its religious and educational monuments, its scholars, mystics and saints. In their treatment of Salé's history, they try to validate and legitimate the city's reputation as a center of an ideal Muslim community. And, indeed, that reputation has been widely accepted throughout the country.

The idealized image of the city was evoked persistently and pursuasively by the local historiographers. Other memories of the past also existed, less in the writings of the historiographers than in oral tradition, and these incorporated different aspects of Salé's character. There was within the community a sense of the city's having been psychologically shaped by the turbulence of historical vicissitudes. The Slawis recognized in themselves a frontier mentality of sternness and tenaciousness tempered by an awareness of the instability of conditions with which they had to contend and compromise. Proud, self-confident, strongly anchored to symbols of collective identity, they viewed themselves nonetheless as practical, ambitious, flexible and adaptable in regard to contingencies and opportunities. The line of demarcation, between what could and could not be compromised, defined the self-imposed moral order of the city. This was Islam which expressed itself as a faith, a code of laws, a culture and a language.

The most important cumulative effects of history as they appeared to men's minds, at least insofar as we know them at the end of the nineteenth century, were the pervasiveness, stability and sobriety of their Muslim way of life. A sense of the historical, of the continuity of Islam—their Muslim city and its Arab society—provided the Slawis with an assuring, coherent view of the world and their place in it. The latitude of this moral order was wide enough to accomodate developments in and elaborations of Islam in the Maghrib. Anchored to a traditional way of life, not imprisoned by it, the Slawis found large space for negotiating with historical change.

The history of Salé offers a further case study for the longstanding discussion about the Muslim city (3). If we confine ourselves to the Muslim West, we should point out that Salé, like Tangier, Ceuta, Oran, Algiers, Tunis and others and in contrast to the typical Muslim town of the East, was an important port city. To be sure, the ports were « lesser » towns in comparison to the great inland cities of the trade routes—Fez, Sijilmassa, Qairawan. Yet the existence and prominence of Salé, as well as the other maritime cities, at the least tempers the general view that urban locations in the Muslim world swung to the interior during the decline of western influences between 600 and 1800 (4).

Salé in many ways fits the classical model of the Muslim town. It has Friday mosques, public baths, marketplaces and an administration. On the other hand, characteristics of Muslim towns, as they have been often postulated in the literature, are lacking. In contrast to the typical town of the Muslim East, Salé experienced moments of jurisdictional identity as a city. Indeed, for some years during the seventeenth century it appears to have been a city-state with its own government and institutions. Moreover, the inhabitants of Salé had a sense of citizenship. To be sure,

(3) Three recent studies in English offer new material on this subject and reconsider the conclusions of earlier scholarship: A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic City A. Colloquium* (Oxford, 1970); I. Lapidus (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities: Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism. A Symposium* (Berkeley, 1969); I. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967). Cf. E.P.H.E. 6e section : Sciences économiques et sociales. Division des aires culturelles, *Les Villes. Entretiens interdisciplinaires sur les sociétés musulmanes* (Paris, 1958).

(4) Cf. C. Issawi, « Economic Change and Urbanization in the Middle East: A Historical Analysis » in I. Lapidus (ed.), *op. cit.*

« citizenship » was not a legal status with defined, exemptive privileges or franchises and duties. Rather, there was citizenship in a non-juridical sense: the People of Salé, as they referred to themselves and were referred to by others, were identified as members of the community by virtue of their birth or long-standing residence and kinship ties in the city; the « aliens » of the city, from whom the People of Salé were distinguished, were termed « Outsiders » for either not having resided long enough in Salé, or for not having been assimilated into the social fabric of society by ties of marriage.

A further distinction between Salé and the model Muslim town was the former's relative lack of partisanship along religious, ethnic or linguistic lines. The Jews of Salé formed the only minority group in the city, and until the nineteenth century they did not dwell in a separate quarter. Except in matters of cult and kinship alliances, the Jewish community of Salé represented an integral part of social, economic and cultural life and shared in the sense of identity of the larger urban society. Certainly tensions, conflicts and cleavages did exist at times between Jews and Muslims, just as they did between rich and poor and between various coteries allied by blood or interest. Nonetheless, urban solidarity persisted at almost all times.

Economic life in Salé depended on both sea and hinterland, maritime trade and the exchange of manufactured goods for agricultural products. This economic openendedness and ecological interdependence was also expressed by the aggregate population of rural and urban inhabitants. The continual flow of immigrants into the city carried with it new social and cultural influences without however altering the basic structures or values of the community, that is, Salé's role as a city of Islam.

It is perhaps useful to characterize the cultural role of Salé in terms of the dichotomy suggested by Redfield and Singer between « orthogenetic » and « heterogenetic » cities ([5]). The cultural role of the orthogenetic city is to carry forward, develop and elaborate a long-established local culture

(5) R. Redfield and M. Singer, « The Cultural Role of Cities », in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Oct., 1954), pp. 53-77.

or civilization. That of the heterogenetic city is to create original modes of thought whose authority goes beyond or conflicts with old cultures or civilizations. Cities are both these things, but a predominating trend in one of these two directions allows us to characterize a particular city or a phase of its historical development. If we view Salé's past in these terms, its transformation from an indigenous (Berber) city rooted in the Roman tradition into a Muslim (Arab) town, indeed its Islamic refoundation, could characterize it as a heterogenetic city. The subsequent cultural role of Salé, throughout its history as a Muslim town, would appear, on the other hand, as essentially orthogenetic. If in this context we compare Salé to other Moroccan cities, it would seem less orthogenetic than Fez and perhaps Marrakesh and more so than its neighbor Rabat or Tangier. These distinctions would hold for contemporary Morocco, as well, in which Casablanca would most resemble a heterogenetic city.

A further distinction should be drawn between the historical profile of Salé and Fez, keeping in mind the fact that the Slawis were forever measuring themselves against the Fasis. Both cities were conceived of as beacons of Islamic civilization and as societies possessing an exemplary moral order. But whereas the Slawis could boast of their religious and economic excellence, they recognized that they had almost always been marginal to the centers of political authority—Fez, Marrakesh, Meknes and Rabat. Althought not absolutely excluded from a close relationship to the Makhzen (there were always a few Slawi functionaries in the state apparatus), Salé remained peripheral to and unifluential in national politics. This relationship of dependence introduced the only element of self-effacement into the esteem with which the community beheld itself.

I have emphasized the particularities of Salé in order to convey to the reader a lively image of the city and its population. It should be equally evident that the history and character of Salé reflect many of the traits of Morocan society in its historical development. The past of Morocco, like that of Salé, is replete with the movement of peoples and ideas. It was a land of refuge and adventure, of exile and conquest, of religious and cultural fermentation. Salé, as different from the mold of the Muslim town of the East, as the Almohads were from the type of dynasties that

ruled the Orient, can be taken as a microcosm of the specificities of the Muslim West—the hold of Sufism, the roles of the religious orders, the tenor of religious life.

Salé's local identity can be seen as a variation on the theme of Moroccan national identity. Both are closely tied to the role of the marabutic leaders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in organizing the defense of a land and a religion and creating a territorial and moral identity vis-à-vis the outside world. At the same time, the history of Salé like that of Morocco shows a constant search for economic and cultural nourishment from its neighbors—the Arab East, Black Africa and Western Europe. The history of Morocco written large or, as it is here, small should impress us by the forcefulness of its civilization and the genius of its people.

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATION OF A MUSLIM CITY

The northern coastal approach to Rabat, today's capital of Morocco, offers a breathtaking panorama of the Bou Regrég river and the twin cities of Rabat and Salé. On the right bank, several hundred yards before the bridge, which is less old than Morocco's newly won independence of fifteen years, is an immense, somber, and majectic gate called « Bāb l'Mrīsa » (coll.; cl. al-muraysā), « the gate of the small port. » This gate, which nearly forms the southeastern corner of Salé, has constituted a part of the walls of the city since the thirteenth century.

From the bridge, one sees and smells the Atlantic Ocean which is met by the Bou Regreg river at a distance of about a mile. At the north of the river on the left bank rises the Casbah of the Ūdaya, a citadel first built during the twelfth century. Outside the walls of the Casbah, the old city of Rabat proper, the *Madīna,* begins its spread southward and eastward. This magnificent scene is dominated by the Tower of Ḥassān, a twelfth century minaret, which rears up on the left as the road leaves the bridge.

From the top of the Tower of Ḥassān, looking back across the river, Salé appears as a small, compact city. Everything in Salé is white, except the minaret at its center. Beside Salé, the ocean seems to rush and empty itself into the river. Further upstream, on the left bank, the river is dominated by another promontory with a walled-in area at the top. This is Chellah, the burial grounds of the fourteenth and fifteenth century Marinid dynasty, and previously the site of a Roman city, Sala Colonia, and before that of a Phoenician settlement, called Sāla or Shāla.

Traditional Moroccan historiographers treat the pre-Islamic history of these cities succinctly:

> The advantages of the site of Salā and Shāla make it clear that they were in existence long before the coming of Islam, that they were centers of civilization and learning. The Carthaginians entered the Maghrib some 1468 years before the Hegira of the Prophet. The people of the Maghrib submitted for a long period to the Romans, embracing their religions and taking on their customs. Then came the Vandals who took the country from the Romans around 156 years before the Hegira. But they lost it to an eastern empire whose reign and influence continued until God conquered this western country with Islam. The inhabitants of Tamasna, the area that borders the Two Banks, were Christians until Islam and its light came to protect them. [Ibn ᶜAlī (d. 1945), in his local history of Salé, *I.W.*, pp. 5-6.]

The existing Arabic sources which inform us about the first three centuries of the Islamic period in Morocco are all late. Ibn ᶜIdhārī, writing in the thirteenth century, and Ibn Khaldūn at the end of the fourteenth, relate a tradition then already five centuries old that the population of the Bou Regreg was composed of Christians and Jews (6). It is difficult to determine when the inhabitants of this area embraced Islam. ᶜUqba b. Nāfiᶜ, who began the Muslim conquest of Morocco in 683, and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who arrived during the first decade of the eighth century, passed through the area and may have converted part of the population to Islam. However,

(6) Ibn ᶜIdhārī writes that Tarīq, before his conquest of Spain early in the eighth century, settled in Sijilmasa because Salé and the land beyond belonged to Christians: *al-Bayyān* trans. E. Fagnan, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne,* I (Alger, 1901), 39; for Ibn Khaldūn, see Levi-Provençal and Basset, *op. cit.,* p. 332.

their submission seems to have been incomplete, for we are told that Mawlāy Idrīs I, after accepting the oath of allegiance of the people of Zarhūn in 789, set out to capture the frontier cities of Salā, Shāla, and the regions of Tamāsnā and Tadla, and that he was their first conqueror (7). The area was evidently conquered, for, according to Ibn Khaldūn, Salé was included within the area left by Idrīs II to his descendants when he died in 213 A.H. (828 A.D.). His son Muḥammad, replacing him as king, divided up the kingdom among his brothers: ʿĪsā was appointed governor of the cities of Chella, Salé, and over Azemmour, Tāmasnā, and the neighboring tribes. Shortly thereafter, ʿĪsā rebelled against his brother ʿUmar and lost Salé and the rest of the central region (8).

The area of the Bou Regreg again became a frontier—in this instance the frontier of orthodox Islam in its struggles against heresy. Around the middle of the ninth century the leader of the Berber confederation of the Barghwāṭa openly professed the heretical Kharijite doctrine and established a kingdom in the province of Tamāsnā, with bundaries from the Bou Regreg south to the Umm ar-Rabiʿa (9). A century later (367 A.H./977 A.D.) the eastern geographer Ibn Ḥawqal mentions Salé:

> Beyond the Sebou River in the direction of the lands of the Barghwāṭa by approximately one day's journey is the Wādī Salā. There is the last place occupied by the Muslims: a monastery-citadel [*ribāṭ*] in which Muslims gather. The ruined city called old Salā has been destroyed, but people live there attaching themselves to a *ribāṭ* by it. There are 100,000 holy soldiers [*murābiṭ's*] gathered in this place who attack at will. Their *ribāṭ* is aimed against the Barghwāṭa, a Berber tribe which has spread in this area along the Atlantic Ocean which limits the soil of Islam (10).

(7) *I.W.*, p. 8.

(8) *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. by De Slane (Alger, 1854), II, Appendix IV, p 563; D. Eustache, « Idrisids » in E.I.², p. 1035.

(9) Cf. the article « Barghwāṭa », in *E.I.²* by R. Le Tourneau and, on the province of Tamāsnā, A. Adam, *Histoire de Casablanca (des origines à 1914)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1968), pp. 28ff.

(10) *Kitāb al-masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed. by M. J. de Geoje, Part II (Leiden, 1873), p. 56.

According to this account, the monastery-citadel of the soldiers fighting for orthodox Islam was on the left bank of the river. Yet the very use of the term « old Salā » by Ibn Ḥawqal suggests that the city of Salé captured by Mawlāy Idrīs remained a permanent settlement, perhaps now called « new Salā ». Although the sources for the period are meager and confusing, they do allow for the possibility that there was a city on the present site of Salé.

Ibn Khaldūn, writing in the fourteenth century and using writings of Berber geneologists that have since been lost, tells us that late in the tenth century the « Kingdom of Shāla » was formed and that it pursued the war against the Barghwāṭa. This kingdom was composed of the Banū Ifrān, a nomadic Zanāta Berber tribe who had played an important part in the history of North Africa during the first three centuries of Islam. Their leader, Ḥammāma b. Zīri b. Yaʿla, either won the city from the rival Banū Maghrāwa or fled there from them. Ḥammāma's son, Tamīm (d. 1055) made Shala his capital and base of operations for fighting against the Maghrāwa and Barghwāṭa. The city remained in the hands of the Banū Ifrān until its conquest late in the eleventh century by the Almoravids (11).

Clearly what is called here « Shāla » is indeed Salā, i.e., Salé, on the right bank of the river. Substantiating evidence comes from Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī. Writing in the middle of the eleventh century, he states that « Shalla » the ancient city of the Wādi Salā is in ruins. The only information that he provides us with about the other side of the river, viz., that its soil is well cultivated, tells us nothing other than that the area was inhabited (12). From the evidence we can only hypothesize that between the tenth and twelfth centuries, Salé, an important military camp, was transformed into an established Muslim city.

(11) Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, III, 186ff., 221ff., 235 and 251.

(12) *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale.* Arabic text edited by De Slane (Alger, 1867), 87. At the end of the twelfth century the anonymous author of *K. al-Istibṣār* says that Salā is called Shalla by foreigners. Quoted from the edition of Von Kremer (Vienna, 1852) by E. Levi-Provençal, *Extraits des Historiens Arabes du Maroc* (Paris, 1948), p. 45.

A. *The Rise of Salé as a Madīna*

> I have heard from more than one person whom I trust that the father of the « Banū ᶜAshara » built the city of Salé in Morocco because he had ten sons born by his wife from a single pregnancy. He put them on a table and carried them to the Prince of the Believers, Yaᶜqūb al-Manṣūr [d. 1199]. The latter gave each of them 1000 dinar and gave their father some land in the Wādī Salā as a fief. There he built the city of Salé, known until today as belonging to the Banū ᶜAshara ([13]).

This curious legendary version of the foundation of Salé is related by a famous Tunisian teacher of the fourteenth century, probably on the authority of one of his disciples from Salé. What does the legend represent?

Ibn ᶜAli gives the date of 420 A.H./1030 A.D. for the revival of Salé and states that the city was built by Ibn ᶜAshara. There is some justification for this date. An anonymous Moroccan writer of the late twelfth century relates that the rulers of the city—the ᶜAshariyūn—and their followers had taken a city on the right bank, « now called Salā », and settled there in the quarter of the Grand Mosque ([14]). Moreover, as Ibn Sharīfa points out, Salé is called in some of the early sources « The City of the Ten Sons » (*madīnat banī 'l-ᶜashr*), and there are still vague echoes of this in the oral tradition of the Slawis themselves.

Here we are on firmer historical ground, for the Banū ᶜAshara family is known from the sources: ᶜAshara, the eponym ancestor, was appointed by the Ummayad dynasty of Cordoba as a ruler in the Central Maghrib some time during the 10th century. His grandson, al-Qāsim seems to have been the first of the family to settle in Salé ([15]). In a passage about the

(13) Ibn ᶜArafa al-Warghāmī al-Faqīh at-Tūnsī (d. 1401), *Mukhṭār b. ᶜArafa*, p. 242 (Mss. *B.G.R.*) quoted by Muḥammad b. Sharīfa in his article « Usrat Banī ᶜAshara », in *Tiṭwān*, T. X (1965), 179.

(14) *K. al-istibṣār fī ᶜajā'ib al-amṣār*, ed. by S. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, (Alexandria, 1958), p. 14.

(15) Ibn Sharīfa, *op. cit.*, p. 179; and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* (Paris, 1928), p. 106.

son of al-Qāsim, Salé's native historian helps us to establish our chronology and to understand the historical pride and sense of nobility that is a part of the self-image of the people of Salé:

> Abū ᶜAbbās b. al-Qāsim (who lived during the middle of the 5th/11th century in the days of ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tashfīn, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty) was from the house [*bayt*] of Banū ᶜAshara, the inheritors of glory in Salé of olden times. They are the full moons of its skies, the beginnings of its exaltation, the [first] notables [*aᶜyān*] of Salé, its leaders, the respected and venerated among its people. He was a jewel [*wāsiṭa*] among them. The castle that he built in Salé was later used by the Almohad kings ([16]).

Furthermore, among the righteous men who lived in Salé mentioned by Ibn ᶜAlī, we find Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAshara, also of the 11th century. This saint, probably buried in the tomb now named after Sīdī 'l-Ḥājj ᶜAbd Allah Ghalīẓ in the quarter of Bāb Ḥusayn, is still today venerated by the Slawis. Ibn ᶜAlī, in any case, is sure that the « friend of God » (*walī*) buried in the tomb is a descendant of al-Qāsim (i.e., Banū ᶜAshara). Other famous members of this family subsequently distinguished themselves by their piety and learning, but no one of them receives mention in the sources after the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, there remains an old man in Salé—a master artisan in the weaving of mats—who is considered a descendant of the Banu ᶜAshara. He is the last of a known Slawi family called the Awlād al-Ghalīẓ (coll. « *ūlād l-Ghlīḍ* »— « the sons of [the man called] the thick one »). His family is said to have come from al-Andalus and to be descendants of the Prophet and the saint buried in Bāb Ḥusayn.

The historiographical material from the 12th century onward is more copious and authoritative. Moreover, a small part of the present population of Salé traces its roots in the city back to that period. Salé had been part of a frontier area in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Large numbers of soldiers had gathered there in what appears to have been the principal military camp of a Zanāta Berber kingdom. With the revival of Salé, its settlement by the Banū ᶜAshara, a new element comes to the city: the Arab civilization of Andalusia. Ibn ᶜAlī does not make a distinction

(16) *I.W.*, p. 74.

between Arab and Berber, but he does emphasize that Salé's history as a center of urban culture and as a community begins with the Banū ᶜAshara. They build the city's first large mosque, and around their houses rises its first quarter. Islam, then, brings to Salé much more than the spirit of holy war evinced by the first Berber settlers. It carries with it, in the words of Ibn ᶜAlī,

> ... the principles of building and the extraction of water, the excellence of weaving, the mastery of cultivation and agriculture, expert craftsmanship in working with pottery—baked bricks, utensils, etc. ... there was no trace of any of this [before Islam]. ... When Islam arrived, it brought with it the ideas of civilization and culture, the knowledge of things. ... It built up centers of learning, craftsmanship, and industry. ... Islam solidified city life [*tamaddun*] in Salé, and uprooted its former culture ([17]).

Thus, early in its development Salé became a city of *ḥaḍāra,* an urban center of Muslim Spanish culture, a bourgeois city *par excellence,* an economic, intellectual and religious metropolis. Together with Fez, Tetouan, and later Rabat, Salé came to be called one of the four « *ḥaḍriya* » (coll.) cities of Morocco—centers of intellectual and religious luster, of knowledge and of *savoir-vivre* ([18]). It should be mentioned, however, that Salé never had as large an Andalusian immigration as the other cities. Those members of the population with Andalusian roots were numerically insignificant, despite the Banū ᶜAshara and others. The Zanāta had formed the bulk of the early population, and the number of Berbers in the city was augmented by the remnants of the kingdoms of the Banū Ifrān and the Barghwāṭa, defeated by the Almoravids toward the end of the eleventh century. Indeed, throughout its history, Salé continually was to attract immigrants, predominantly from Berber-speaking areas. This mixture of Andalusian Arab and indigenous Berber cultures and mentalities was to become an important characteristic of the city ([19]).

(17) *I.W.*, pp. 21-22.

(18) Cf. J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe,* III (Paris, 1962), 24, n. 2.

(19) I discuss these features, as well as the origins of many important 19th century families of Salé, in *Social History of Moroccan Town, Salé 1830-1930.*

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF SALÉ : ALMORAVIDS (1061-1146) AND ALMOHADS (1130-1269)

A. *The Spread of the Madīna*

During the two centuries that followed, Salé developed into one of the most important cities of Morocco. By the beginning of the twelfth century, Zanāta Berbers and emigrants from Andalusia were living in at least three quarters. These quarters still exist today: « ᶜAshara », near the site of the present Grand Mosque (now called « aṭ-Ṭalᶜa », « the ascent »), « al-Balīda », « the small city », and « Zanāta », below the heights of the quarter of the Mosque. The area occupied by these quarters was enclosed by ramparts which were partly destroyed a century later when the Almohads took Salé.

Nevertheless, the city seems to have extended beyond its walls, for Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (d. 1106), the most powerful sovereign of the Almoravid dynasty, established a new Friday mosque, the Jāmiᶜ ash-Shahbā', far to the east of the city proper. The site of this mosque, was excavated at the beginning of this century. In an area covered by sand and vegetable gardens, marble columns were found—probably having been brought from the Roman ruins of Chella. Another mosque in this area—the Masjid Da'ud, was constructed by the Almohads. Its minaret, called « Abū-Ramāda », was still standing forty years ago, although two-thirds of it was buried below the level of the ground (20). The existence of these

(20) Ibn ᶜAlī identified the quarter of this mosque as an early site of Salé's thread market. It fell into ruin around the fourteenth century and was completely destroyed by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. People in Salé were forever telling me that in digging foundations on seemingly empty land or gardens, they found remnants of old buildings, and in some instances skeletons. They were afraid to tell anyone lest the French declare the site a « National Monument ». Ibn ᶜAlī also mentions that before the Protectorate graves with beautiful carved and decorated tombstones were found under the level of a garden of the house of the qadi Ibn al-Khaḍrā, but they were quickly covered up lest the garden be claimed as endowed property. (Cf. *I.W.*, p. 44, n. 1, and ***Musée des Antiquités***, Rabat, Dossier S. Salé A à I). Such ruins have become part of Slawi folklore: it is said that Salé has been destroyed six times by earthquakes and that if a seventh occurs, the city will never recover. Indeed, the 1755 Lisbon earthquake was severely felt in Salé and caused a tidal wave. Cf. *V.T.*, I, 101.

mosques suggests that there was important population growth in Salé during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the growth of a popular quarter far removed from the older urban center (21). The construction of these mosques may have been aimed at preventing the penetration of newcomers from the countryside into the central quarters of the city. Thus, the strikingly twofold character of the contemporary *madīna*—an inside urban core and an outside rural fringe (the *ḥaḍārī* and *badāwī* elements of the population)—may have been already an early feature of spatial organization and social structure in Salé.

Ibn Tumart, who was to found the Almohad empire, visited Salé in 1121 staying in the home of the scholar Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAshara and teaching those who came to visit him. Thus, it would appear that Salé was already at this time a center of religious learning. It was approximately a dozen years later that the Mahdi's successor, ᶜAbd al-Mu'min (d. 1163), destroyed Salé's ramparts. Yet, it remained an important city during his reign (22). Meanwhile, the site of Rabat became a small town and the camp for the mobilization of troops in preparation for the Almohad invasion of Andalusia. However, the Caliph died in Salé in 1163, before the invasion took place (23). As the main military camp for the Almoravids and Almohads, Rabat and Salé had come to constitute, after Marrakesh, the second capital of the empire and the summer residence of its sultans. And, in fact, during the later Almohad period it was more often the center of authority than the capital itself.

Near the end of the 12th century the population of Salé increased with the arrival of Berbers from throughout North Africa, Arabs coming from Tunisia, and the forced removal of tributary Christians from the Kingdom

(21) *I.W.*, p. 44. Ibn ᶜAlī considers the Masjid Da'ūd a small mosque of the kind often found near marketplaces, allowing shopkeepers to carry out their prayers without leaving their shops for too long a time. The large Shahbā' mosque was for the Friday-noon prayer. Its site indicates that there were a large number of people who did not pray in the Grand Mosque situated in the middle of the main residential districts. Shahbā' was repaired and reopened shortly after the arrival of the French, for essentially the same reason, to handle the overflow from the Grand Mosque.

(22) The attack against Salé may have been as a punishment for its population having accepted the pretender Muḥammad b. Hūd al Hādī. Cf. B. Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (New York, 1899), pp. 88ff., following al-Marrākushī.

(23) Lévi-Provençal, *Documents, op. cit.*, pp. 106, 199, 205-6, and his article « Rabat », in *E.I.1*.

of Granada ([24]), while the city plan was greatly enlarged under the Almoravid Amir Yūsuf (d. 1184). Across the river from Salé, and connected to it by a wooden bridge used at low tide, rose the completely new city of Rabat, with its monumental Tower of Ḥassān—the minaret of a mosque for the assembled soldiers, built during the reign of Yaᶜqūb al-Manṣūr (1184-99).

In the same style, and equally grandiose, was al-Jāmiᶜ al-Aᶜẓam—the Grand Mosque of Salé, which had been constructed by order of Yaᶜqūb or his father Yūsuf on the site of the mosque earlier raised by the Banū ᶜAshara. (Ibn ᶜAlī gives the date of its completion as 593 A.H./1195, while the *K. al-Istibṣār* says it was begun already in 574.) The total area of the mosque is enormous, equal to that of the largest mosque of Morocco, the Qarawīyīn of Fez. Built on the highest spot within the city, its minaret of a starkly rectangular style dominates the city—physically, as well as spiritually. According to a tradition, 700 Christian prisoners, as well as Andalusian Muslims, worked on the mosque, the architect of which was a certain al-Gharnāṭi, the Granadian. Masons are also said to have been brought from the Sūs to build up the quarter of Ṭalᶜa around the mosque ([25]). Yet even in the new construction, part of the older mosque may have remained, for in one corner there is the tomb of a saintly man buried there in 590 A.H./1193 ([26]).

B. *A Refuge for the Pious*

An important part of the reputation of Salé, both for its inhabitants and for outsiders, has been its particular quality of being a refuge for the

(24) *V.T.*, I, 20; and Meakin, following al-Makkārī, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(25) *I.W.*, p. 44.

(26) Such a detail was of interest to a Slawi 800 years later, as illustrated by the following: A friend in Salé showed me what his father, a fairly well educated merchant, had written in his diary at the turn of this century: « I have seen today a book in which it is written that the man buried in our mosque is Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Murābiṭ al-Ghammād and that he died in Salé in 590 A.H./1193 ! » Ibn ᶜAlī also mentions him in his biographies of righteous men as « al-Mursī » (having come from Murcia in Spain), and says that among his qualities were the ability of seeing the prophet, and the possibility of getting news from some of the dead in Salé and that whoever gave him false information would get sick and die. The diary belonged to Muḥammad ᶜAwwād, « al-Quṭb » (his nickname, « the pole », reflects his unusual height); *I.W.*, p. 77.

pious. Its fame as such has existed since the 12th century. The renown of Salé is described by Ibn ᶜAlī, in ascending order, as due to its civilization and commerce, its being a departure point for the holy war (*thughur jihād*), a place of saints (*mawṭin as-sādāt*), and a refuge for ascetics and scholars. In the 17th century, the famous jurist al-Yusī, referring to that tradition, wrote in a poem that Salé was the object of travel for those who want to live an ascetic life (*annaha maqṣūda li-nnussāk*) (27). And still today, people in Fez speak of Salé as the city of retreat (*khalwa*).

Two of the most venerated saints (28) of Salé lived during the 6th century A.H. (1106-1202). Biographies of these men show us the conception held by the learned of Salé of the historical heritage and character of their city. These biographies also emphasize many of the human ideals and religious values that were esteemed by society.

1. Ibn al-ᶜAbbās

Sīdī « Bil-ᶜAbbās », as he is known in Salé (29), died in 540 A.H./1145 and was buried beyond Bāb Fās (the main gate along the eastern wall of Salé) in a graveyard now named after him. He is said to have been a very

(27) Noted in *I.W.*, p. 19.

(28) The reader will note that I have used the term « saint » or « saintly man » several times in my work, and I will have occasion to do so again. The term and the adjective are synonymous, and neither has anything to do with the Christian concept of « sainthood » or « saintliness ». I use « saint » to translate two separate Arabic terms: *sāda*, pl. *sādāt* (or *sayyid*, pl. *asyād*, and in the dialect, *sīdī*, followed by the name of the man), referring to a direct descendant of the Prophet (i.e., a *sharīf*), and *walī*, pl. *awliyā'*, referring to a man who by the force of his religious belief came close to God. It should be noted that the connotations of both words include the idea of power or authority. But in these cases their authority is spiritual; in the context of religion in Morocco, a « saint » of either category usually has the power of *baraka*, i.e., the ability to give someone else his blessing or benediction. In popular usage, both as a form of address and of reference, Sīdī so-and-so may often be used to designate either kind of « saint », but most people, if pressed, are able to identity the « real » descendants of the Prophet, sometimes addressed as Mawlāy. However, the dead whose tombs are venerated are always referred to a Sīdī so-and-so, whatever their genealogy, and the tomb itself is known as *siyyid*. It should be noted that terms mean different things to different people in Morocco, as elsewhere, depending on where and how they have been brought up. The most complete discussion of these concepts in their Moroccan context is in E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926; 2 vol.). Cf. also G.E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 138-39.

(29) Ibn al-ᶜAbbās (cl.); Ibn ᶜAlī calls him Abū 'l-ᶜAbbās; Moroccan dialect usually gives the form Bil———, from Ibn al———, and Būl——— from Abū 'l———.

wealthy man who as he grew older detached himself from people and worldly things, giving away all of his wealth in alms in order to devote himself to God. When he knew that his death was approaching, he dug his own grave. His fame grew slowly. It was only some two hundred years later that a beautiful sanctuary was built over the grave by the Marinid sultan Abū ᶜInān (d. 1358). When the sanctuary fell into ruin, Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl (1672-1727) had it restored to its present form and appointed one of the members of the ruling house of his dynasty—Mawlāy Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd, an ᶜAlawī of great distinction—as its keeper. The disposition of the income from this tomb (as well as from the tomb of Sīdī Mūsā, who we shall mention presently) has remained in the hands of the descendants of this ᶜAlawī *sharīf* who settled in Salé early in the 17th century. Thus Sīdī Bil-ᶜAbbās's exemplary life, perpetuated in the memory of the Slawis by his tomb, reinforced the religious symbols and values of the community ([30]).

2. Abū Mūsā

Another important sanctuary is that in which Abū Mūsā ad-Dukkālī (Sīdī Mūsā), a saintly and gifted man who lived during the 6th century A.H./12th A.D., is buried. According to the hagiographers, he was a simple *būhāli* (« saint of the spirit ») who lived off what belongs to everyone (*al-mubāḥ*)—such things as plants and herbs found on the land and along the ocean. These he would sell each day to buy bread, two loaves for himself and the rest for the poor. Every year during the period of the pilgrimage he would disappear, claiming that he had gone to visit his family in the Dukkāla (the hinterland of al-Jadīda). He did this for twelve years, until returning pilgrims reported that they had seen him in the Ḥijāz ([31]). Among the other miracles (*karāmāt*) that he is said to have performed was the transformation of a bitter twig into a sweet, and the shortening of a road. According to the hagiography, he prepared himself

(30) Sources: *V.T.*, I, 221; at-Tadīlī: *K. at-tassāwuf fī rijāl at-taṣawwuf* (Rabat, 1958), pp. 144-45; *I.W.*, p. 75. Ibn ᶜAlī also suggests that the mosque called ᶜAbbās in Salé may be, as people claim, the Quranic school in which the saint taught. *I.W.*, p. 75, in the margin.

(31) Such a person is known in Islamic mysticism as *badīl*, pl. *abdāl* or *budalā'*, « a person in transmutation ». Cf. *A.M.*, XIX (1913), 237.

for the costs of death by having saved a few coins that he had once been paid for guarding a vineyard in Alexandria. These coins and a copy of the Quran were his only worldly possessions (32).

The room where Sīdī Mūsā used to spend the night is still revered in Salé. (It is in the corner of what is today the court of the qadi of Salé, an old building that was successively a hotel-warehouse for the selling of oil (*fundūq al-zayt*) during the life of the saint, a school of medicine during the reign of the Marinids (1213-1465), and then a hotel (Fundūq Askūr) for rural merchants bringing their wares to Salé (until after World War I). When the saint died, everyone wanted to have him buried in their garden. At first he was buried within the city proper, in the garden of Banū ᶜAshara, but seven days later he was moved to the present site of the tomb, along the coast about a mile north of the city. There, a woman called Bint Ziyādat Allah built a costly and magnificent cupola, later restored by Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl (1672-1727).

At the turn of this century an annual festival was still being held at the tomb of Sīdī Mūsā. A three day celebration in August, it attracted most of the inhabitants of Salé and its surrounding rural population. The latter came in caravans and set up their tents alongside the ocean. This particular festival, despite its links to an old tradition, may date back only to the early 18th century when the head of the ᶜAlawī lineage in Salé became responsible for the upkeep of the tomb. The *mūsim* (cl. *mawsim*) of Sīdī Mūsā attracted more outsiders to Salé than any other event (33). The popular image of Sīdī Mūsā also came to include, along with the ascetic and mystical virtues found in the hagiographical literature, an idealization of him as an agricultural worker, a commonplace livelihood for many of Salé's citizens. Besides these affinities with Slawi values, the *baraka* received from visiting Sīdī Mūsā's tomb and bathing in a nearby grotto was considered especially beneficial in curing barren women.

(32) *V.T.*, I, 221, at-Tadīlī, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5; I.W., p. 75.

(33) Cf. *The Social History of a Moroccan Town, Salé 1830-1930* for details about the religious character of Salé's attraction on the surrounding countryside. The *mūsim* of Sīdī Mūsā is described in some detail in L. Mercier, « Les mosquées et la vie religieuse à Rabat », in *A.M.*, VIII (1906), 149-50; and in M. Salmon, « Notes sur Salé », in *A.M.*, III (1905), 322ff.

A lesser known 12th century saint buried in Salé was Abū ᶜAlī ash-Sharīshī al-Bakā'ī, originally from Andalusia. His virtues exemplify other highly valued religious qualities among the people of Salé. It is said that whenever this saint heard a recitation of a verse of the Quran his eyes would fill with tears, and his piety was such that he made some twenty pilgrimages to the Ḥijāz. His grave is in a *zāwiya*—a small, cupolaed mosque or lodge (usually erected over the tomb of a Muslim saint, and sometimes used for teaching or as a hospice for a religious order)—built by the Marinids. This *zāwiya* came to be used by disciples of a famous Moroccan mystic, the « pole » (one of the highest stages that a Muslim mystic may reach) Mawlāy Aḥmad as-Saqallī al-Fāsī, and later by the Darqāwa religious order, the disciples of Shaykh Mawlāy al-ᶜArabī ad-Darqāwī (d. 1827). Under its roof, the eyes of the men of Salé have for centuries filled with tears on hearing recitations of the Quran and, later, the litanies of a newly founded religious order.

c. *Economic Life*

Just as for the earlier periods, information concerning the ways in which people earned their livelihood in Salé is extremely meager. Only thanks to the brief remarks of al-Idrīsī (d. 1166) are we able to form some impression of the important economic activity during the middle of the twelfth century. Salé, he writes,

> has continuous built up areas, fields and pasturage ... and is unapproachable from the coast. It is a city built on a desirable site, with sandy soil. It markets are full of activity; it has commerce, imports and exports, and a money exchange.
>
> Its population is wealthy, the conditions of life are good, food is plentiful and very inexpensive. There are vineyards, orchards, gardens and cultivated land.
>
> Ships manned by the people of Seville and the other cities of the coast of Andalusia anchor there and pay duties on their goods. The people of Seville bring much oil there, for that is their produce, and they [in turn] supply the rest of the coastal cities of Andalusia with foodstuffs from it ([34]).

(34) *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne,* Arabic text trans. by R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), pp. 72-73.

A market center for agriculture, manufacture [35], and trade, 12th century Salé probably followed in economic importance the inland capitals of Fez and Marrakesh and served as the principal port of Morocco [36].

CHAPTER III

A GOLDEN AGE : THE MARINIDS (1216-1465)

Salé and Rabat were the scene of much bloodshed and destruction before the Marinids stabilized their rule there in 1260. With the defeat of the Almohads, Rabat, already largely destroyed by fighting, passed into historical oblivion for the next four and a half centuries. Chella, completely abandoned by then, became under the Marinids an area of *ḥarām* — a sanctuary — and a sacred cemetery for the remains of their Sultans [37].

During the rule of its first Marinid governor, Salé fell to a Christian army for the first and only time until the coming of the French in 1912. The governor, in open revolt against his uncle the Sultan, contracted with Spanish arms merchants who, in turn, began to enter the port of Salé in growing numbers. On the feast day that ended the Muslim month of fasting in 1260, Spanish troops under the orders of King Alphonse disembarked at Salé. While the Slawis presumably were in the course of celebrating the sacred feast, the Spaniards attacked the city. For fourteen days they burned and pillaged, killing many people and taking others as prisoners. Later, a Marinid delegation to Seville is said to have ransomed

(35) Cf. A. Delphy, « Notes sur quelques vestiges de céramiques recueillis à Salé », in *Hesp.*, XVII (1955), 129-52. Delphy shows on the basis of archeological evidence that Salé was at this time an important center for the manufacture of pottery.

(36) Cf. Krueger, « Early Genoese Trade with Atlantic Morocco », in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, III (1945), pp. 7ff.

(37) The sources for this period are chiefly Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, IV, and Ibn Abī Zarᶜa, *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās*, trans. by Beaumier, *Histoire des souverains du Maghreb ... et annales de la ville de Fès* (Paris, 1960). A useful summary is in J. Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au protectorat français*, I (Paris, 1949), 187ff.

three thousand captives taken at Salé, including its qadi. Finally, the Sultan, Abū Yūsuf, arrived from Taza and broke the Spanish siege of the city (38).

A. *The Development of Salé: Constructions and Trade*

When the Sultan retook the city, his first act was to construct a wall parallel to the river. The Almohad ruler an-Nāṣir (1199-1213) had restored the northern and eastern walls, but the southern side along the river had remained unfortified. The Spanish attack of 1260 was the first foreign violation of Moroccan soil since the coming of Islam. From then on Morocco, and especially the port of Salé, was to live with the realization of the dangers, as well as the benefits of contact with the outside world.

Shortly thereafter, the Marinid Amir, Abū Yūsuf, built « Dār aṣ-Ṣinā^ca », a maritime arsenal at the southeast corner of Salé (the site of the present Millāḥ, or Jewish quarter, constructed there some 600 years later). The monumental gate to this arsenal was « Bāb l-Mrīsa », that sign to the traveler of the age and splendor of Salé. The architect of the walls and gates, for there are two other gates that date from this period, was a *mudéjar* (an Andalusian Muslim living in an area ruled by Christians) from Seville. The arsenal was a fortified wet dock, connected to the river by two canals which passed through two of the gates. Here during the 13th and 14th centuries ships were built and launched to attack the coast of Spain.

While Muslims and Christians fought on the seas, Morocco's maritime commerce with Christian Europe continued to flourish. Commerce had an important influence on the economic life of Salé from at least the middle of the 12th century, particularly because of the gold carried there by caravans from the Sudan. Most trade was with the merchants of the Italian republics, especially the Genoese who bought gold, skins, goat hair, wax, and honey and sold, in return, many things — the most important of which was copper. From Salé, caravans left for the rest

(38) B. Baretta, « La toma de Salé en tiempos de Alphonso El Sabio », in *Al Andalus,* VIII (1943), 89-128. Reviewed by H. Terrasse in *Hesp.,* XXIV (1944), 87-92.

of North Africa. They carried the products of Italian merchants, of Catalans and Aragonians, transported to Salé by ships from Seville, Valencia, and Barcelona: safran oils, colored cloth, Italian linen, silks, sculptured wood, tin, gold, and silver—in bullion and in coin, as well as arms, jewelry, and precious stones. Exported to Europe from the port of Salé were flax, indigo, cotton, cereals, dry fruits, articles made of esparto, of kermes, and of tannic bark. It was from customs duties on these commercial activities that an important share of the revenues of the Marinid state were derived (39).

B. *The Blossoming of Culture*

The intellectual history of Morocco as conserved by its historians is drawn from the lives of its famous scholars and the monuments that were built for the sake of their endeavors. Salé has been favored by the presence of both scholars and monuments. The most delicately beautiful monument of Salé, and perhaps of all Morocco, is *al-Madrasa 'l-ʿUẓmā*, constructed in 1340 during the period of the zenith of the Marinids under the Sultan Abū 'l-Ḥasan (40). A *madrasa* or *medersa*, as it is called in Morocco, is a hostel, a kind of boarding school were students who are not from the city may find lodging and food while pursuing their education in the nearby mosques. In Salé the principal *madrasa* was in the Ṭalʿa quarter, directly below and to the left of the main entrance to the Grand Mosque, on the site, it is said, of the palace of the Banū ʿAshara. It is

(39) Cf. *V.T.*, I, 115ff.; A. Laroui, *L'idéologie arabe contemporaine* (Paris, 1967, p. 78 and n. 5), mentions an unpublished thesis on the commercial relations of Morocco from the 10th to 15th centuries. There it is said that important quantities of gold were still being taken as late as the 15th century from the Sudan, minted at Marrakesh, and exported from Salé to ports in Aragon and Italy. According to Genoese sources, Safi and Salé served as the main ports of the gold trade during the first half of the thirteenth century. Cf. V. Vitale, *Brevario della Storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1955) Vol. I, 107 cited in A. Adam, *Histoire de Casablanca (des Origines à 1955)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1968), p. 45, n. 52. Y. Lacoste has argued that during the 14th century, the western Maghreb steadily lost control of the gold routes and trade with the Sudan. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Naissance de l'histoire passée du tiers-monde* (Paris, 1966), pp. 108ff. Our sources made no mention of the vacillations of trade between Salé and the Sudan.

(40) Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal « Un nouveau texte d'histoire mérinide du Musnad d'Ibn Marzuk » in *Hesp.*, V (1925), p. 69, n. 3.

composed of an open-air rectangular court 24 by 12 feet, with a marble basin in the center and surrounded by four galleries, one of which gives on to a rectangular, domed room for prayer with its *miḥrab*. Throughout there is ornamental tile, engravings in plaster, marble, and wood of extraordinary elegance. Above the galleries are two floors of small, cell-like rooms for students (41).

To the left of the entrance of the *madrasa* a *qaṣīda* or poem in praise of its founder is sculptured into the plaster:

> During my life I have attended many circles of learning and have frequented most of the *madrasas* in the world; I have had discussions in Emessa and Baghdad and have heard about all of the learned men; the caravans of all of the world—from Persia to Morocco—have told me of many things. Yet my eyes have never seen a *madrasa* such as this, nor have my ears ever heard described its like (42).

The upkeep of the madrasa was a function of the *Ḥabus*, the institution responsible for the administration of pious endowments. Endowed property whose income was specifically set aside for that purpose existed both within and beyond Salé. The madrasa flourished throughout the Marinid reign, but later fell into neglect. At the end of the 18th century the qadi of Salé, Muḥammad b. Ḥajjī 'l-Qāsim Znībar, undertook its restoration. Repairs were continued in 1864 by the governor and administrator of the *Ḥabus*, Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Hādī Znībar, at the suggestion of one of his clerks, the historian Aḥmad b. Khālid an-Nāṣirī. Finally, the Service des Beaux-Arts of the French Protectorate classified the madrasa as a national monument and continued the work of restoration.

Abū 'l-Ḥasan also saw to it that the water necessary for ablutions was piped to the madrasa and to the Grand Mosque from the sources of al-Baraka several miles to the east of Salé. A high monumental aqueduct, named al-Aqwās because of its three arches, was built about a mile north

(41) A detailed description of the Madrasa, with plans and photographs, is in C. Terrasse, *Médersas du Maroc* (Paris, 1927).

(42) The inscriptions have been copied by Ibn ᶜAlī, in *I.W.*, p. 89, and translated in *V.T.*, I, 229ff.

of the city for this purpose. The aqueduct acted as a second rampart belt, protecting the gardens of Salé and guarding the main Tangier-Salé road that still passes through its arches (43).

Ruins of other monuments in Salé bear witness to the munificence of the Marinid rulers and the importance of the city as a center of learning and piety. The Madrasa al-ᶜAjība (also known as the « Bū-ᶜInānīya » after its founder Abū ᶜInān, or as « al-Māristān », « the Hospital ») was a small hospital and medical school supported by the government on the site of the *fundūq* in which Sīdī Mūsā lived and where the present day courthouse of Salé stands. A rather sad photograph taken in 1927 shows the remains of the ornamental doorway with its mosaics and sculptured wood as a frame to a dilapidated *fundūq* (44). This monument awakened thoughts in Ibn ᶜAlī, Salé's historian at the turn of the 19th century, about Morocco's intellectual regression and its reasons:

> At that time the art of medicine as well as other sciences were widespread in Morocco, because the kings concerned themselves with them. But when the deterioration of the Marinids set in with their last kings, the assistance ended and the hospital was abandoned, especially since it was in the Jewish quarter [i.e., Bāb Ḥusayn, which seems to have been the original Jewish quarter of Salé]— and it began to fall into ruin. It soon returned to its original condition as a *fundūq*. Only its door remained as witness to its beauty (45).

Along the road to Meknès, some 600 yards beyond the eastern wall of Salé, there are the remains of another monument due to Abū ᶜInān, the Zāwiya an-Nussāk, the Hospice of Ascetics (which recalls al-Yūsī's remark about Salé mentioned above). Built in 1356 within the cemetery of Sīdī Bil-ᶜAbbās, it was a place of prayer where the poor, the homeless, or the reclusive could live and where pilgrims or simple travelers might stop for a night's rest. The sources also suggest that it was situated by a small

(43) Cf. the curious discussion between an-Nāṣirī and one of the canal diggers of Salé who is able to identify the origins of these pipes. an-Nāṣirī compares the system with the engineering feats of the Carthaginians. *K.I.*, II, p. 86.

(44) C. Terrasse, *op. cit.*, planche 11.

(45) *I.W.*, p. 54.

village named Qarya Sibāra that stood beyond the walls of Salé and was populated by very pious descendants of the Prophet (46).

Certainly it was Salé's reputation as a city of learning and piety that drew two of the most famous men of their time to settle there. The first was the renowned man of letters and politics, Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb (1313-74). Exiled after having served as the vizier of the Kingdom of Granada, he sought refuge in Salé and remained there three years (1358-61). His descriptions of Salé at the time are priceless vignettes of the city. He tells us that there are both rural and urban elements in Salé (*al-jāmiᶜ bayna 'l-badāwa wa-'l-ḥaḍāra*), that it is a garden of cotton and linen and grapes, surrounded by excellent grazing lands and vast fertile fields. Its market-places are said to be filled with the delights of the world, including the most delicate of Abyssinian slaves. It is, moreover, the favorite city of those who search for learning, meditation, and solitude, for it has its *madrasa*, its school of medicine, its *zāwiya*, and cupolas as numerous as flowers (47).

In one of those famous verses memorized by those in Salé who make a show of learning, Ibn Khaṭīb praises Salé by a play on the meaning of the Arabic root of Salā—« to console »: « *wala nasakhat karbī bi-qalbī salwa, fa-lamma sarā fīhi nasīmu Salā salā* » (« Distraction did not dispel grief from my heart, but when the breeze of Salé penetrated into it, it was consoled ») (48).

(46) *I.W.*, p. 51; *V.T.*, I, 211-13; J. Meunié, « La Zaouïat en Noussak : une fondation mérinite aux abords de Salé », in *Mélange d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, II (« Hommage à G. Marçais »; Alger, 1957), 129-46 (with photographs).

(47) The *madrasa* he refers to was behind the Grand Mosque, toward the ocean. It was named after a famous mystic of the time, Shaykh Abū Zakariyā, and was famous for its library. There was a garden, a weaver's shop, and a Quranic school there at the turn of the century. Cf. Ibn ᶜAlī, *I.W.*, p. 53, where he ends his description by saying, « Indeed, Salé's fame is due to the many *zāwiyas* and tombs in which its great shaykhs and saints are buried. »

(48) an-Nāṣirī, *K.I.*, II, 112ff. A biography of Ibn Khaṭīb and his writings, which includes a comparison of Malaga and Salé, may be found in al-ᶜAbbādī, *Mushāhadāt Lisān ad-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa-'l-Andalus* (Alexandria, 1958). Despite Ibn Khaṭīb's praise of Salé, he preferred Malaga. Thus Ibn ᶜAlī, historian of Salé, proudly considers his *urjūza*—*I.A.*—a defense of the city against the calumnies of the famous Andalusian writer.

1. Ibn ᶜĀshir aṭ-Ṭubīb: Sufism in Salé

There is another of this genre of verse that the people of Salé like to quote: « *salā kullu qalbīn ghayra qalbī mā salā, a yaslū bi-Fās wa-'l-aḥibbatu fī Salā; bihā khayyamū wa-'l-qalbu khayyama ᶜindahum, fa'jrū dumūᶜī mursalan wamusalsilan* » (« Every heart has found consolation, except mine. Could it find consolation in Fez while friends were in Salé? There have they set up their tents and my heart has set up its tent with them; thus flow my tears freely and continuously »). This poetical expression of a sense of community, of attachment to Salé and its people, was recited by al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar b. ᶜĀshir al-Anṣarī (d. 1362), popularly known as Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir aṭ-Ṭubīb, the famous saint and « doctor » buried in Salé, and sometimes mistakenly considered its patron saint. Born in Jimena, Spain, around the end of the 13th century, he lived and taught in various cities and made the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, before settling in Salé in 1356.

The centers of Sufism, of Islamic mysticism, in 14th century Morocco were Fez and Salé. Ibn ᶜĀshir at first settled in the Marinid necropolis of Chella, living in a *zāwiya* established there by al-Ḥājj ᶜAbd Allah al-Yābūrī and teaching the Quran. When his shaykh died, he went to live in Salé in the *zāwiya* founded by Abū Zakariyā behind the Grand Mosque. There he led a contemplative life and earned his living by copying the *Ḥadīth,* the Sayings of the Prophet. Shortly afterwards, he is said to have bought a house opposite Bāb Muᶜallaqa (a gate along the southern wall of Salé) and a small garden beyond Bāb Sibṭa (on the northern wall). There the saint sought absolute seclusion. Soon, however, disciples began to come from other cities in order to be near him. One of these, Ibn ᶜAbbād, joined the saint and his disciples to find what he called security—both physical and spiritual—because in Fez it had become difficult to keep one's hands pure from the daily bloodshed (49).

The fame of Ibn ᶜĀshir quickly spread. Groups of visitors from Meknès and Fez began to arrive, wanting to receive the saint's blessing, and, according to a contemporary of the saint, to pay hommage to his « incon-

(49) Cf. Nwyia, *Ibn ᶜAbbad de Ronda (1332-1390)* (Beyrouth, 1961), p. 62.

testible spiritual superiority » [50]. That this adulation was repugnant to the saint is clear from a description by Ibn Khaṭīb of how difficult it was to approach him because of a manner that inspired both fear and respect. Ibn Khaṭīb found him sitting alone among the tombs of the cemetery—a man of miserable appearance, eyes cast downward, silent and jealous of his solitude. When approached, he showed great constraint and nervousness [51]. From the accounts of his disciples comes an image of an imposing, tense, intimidating and almost ferocious man whom no one dared address without first having been spoken to. But he was for them a « friend of God » (*walī*) who fulfilled to the letter, with neither excess nor shortcoming, the exterior requirements of Islamic law [52].

The importance of these spiritual qualities of Ibn ᶜĀshir is best reflected in the account of the unsuccessful attempts to meet with him by the pious Marinid Sultan, Abū ᶜInān. Ibn ᶜĀshir persistently refused to see the Sultan, even to the point of personally turning him away from his door. Finally, the saint consents to send a word to the Sultan: he simply reminded the latter of his religious obligations. The Sultan, satisfied, asked only the prayers of the saint for success in the Holy War against Spain and the accomplishment of his pilgrimage [53].

In these biographies facts are combined with embellished legend. The life of Ibn ᶜĀshir is an instructive example. Facts, in Moroccan hagiographic literature, even when presented by contemporaries of the saints, tend to idealize their lives. Still these accounts provide us with an insight into real or assumed values of society, of men's temperaments and activities [54]. The later developments of these idealized mystical types into highly embellished legends needs some explanation.

(50) al-Ḥaḍdrāmī, quoted in Nwyia, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

(51) an-Nāṣirī, *K.I.*, II, 114-15.

(52) Nwyia, *op. cit.*, pp. 55ff.

(53) The ambivalent attitude of the very pious and learned of Salé toward authority will be discussed below.

(54) Nwyia, *op. cit.*, whose presentation I have followed, convincingly argues that this was the mystical personality type.

2. Saints and Mystics

Whereas the allegorical language of the 14th century says that Ibn ᶜĀshir made fragrant bouquets of roses grow on a dried branch and caused arid rocks to run with honey, the *baraka* associated with a visit to his tomb and prayer there is believed to produce real miracles. In discussing these miracles, a distinction should be drawn between the conceptions of the educated, urban man and those of the unschooled masses—both urban and rural, and including most of the women of the city. A *faqīh*, a man with understanding of Islamic law, may listen to and passively accept or deny miraculous accounts. However, he is unlikely to create, repeat, or publicly repudiate such accounts. The *faqīh* believes that God's powers are boundless, that He is capable of any and all miracles which may take whatever form He chooses. The local historian of Salé, Ibn ᶜAlī, relates the life of Ibn ᶜĀshir according to the written sources, and simply adds, without elaboration, that miracles and wonders of the saint continue to take place among the people of Salé (55).

These miracles and wonders are very much alive in the popular imagination. Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir's reputations as a « healer » (thus his nickname [coll.] « *aṭ-Ṭabīb* ») seems to originate in a story told about one of the venerated saints of Rabat, Sīdī t-Turkī. A coral fisherman from Turkey (or a jeweler, according to another version) somehow manages to get a piece of coral (or a pearl) lodged in his nose. He turns in vain to the most famous healers of his time (ca. 18th century), finally makes the pilgrimage to the tomb of Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir. When he reaches the cemetery of Salé where the saint is buried and sees his modest tomb without any mausoleum, he is said to remark with disdain: « How could I have been led to believe that where the best doctors failed, this abandoned saint would succeed ! » When he utters these words, he is seized by a fit of sneezing, the shock of which dislodges the stone. Then Sīdī t-Turkī has a magnificent mausoleum built for the saint. Shortly afterwards he is visited in a dream by Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir, who recommends to him that he devote himself to study and prayer. Thus, Sīdī t-Turkī himself dies a venerated saint, with his own

(55) *I.W.*, p. 55.

mausoleum in Rabat the object of pilgrimages and his *baraka* especially beneficial to the well-being of fishermen and sailors (56).

The mausoleum of Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir, a large cupolaed room flanked by two pavilions, was built by the Sultan Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allah b. Ismāᶜīl in 1733 at the far end of the cemetery which bears the name of the saint. It has been the site of pilgrimages since the 17th century. The cupola was restored in 1844 by the Sultan Mawlāy ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān, and the pavilions have been successively enlarged by the construction of additional rooms at the expense of the Ḥabus of Salé or, at the turn of the century, as gifts from some of the wealthiest notables of the city—the *amīn* (customs' receiver) ᶜAbd al-Hādī Znībar and the merchant (later *amīn*) al-Ḥājj Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣabūnjī. Known as a *Māristān*—a sanitorium for the physically and mentally sick—the mausoleum has continually been the object of pilgrimages; its rooms are filled with the sick who remain in the mausoleum for several weeks at a time, while the central hall of the sanctuary is daily filled with visitors from Salé and beyond (57). Every year on the ninth day after the Great Festival (*ᶜīd al-kabīr*) there is an annual fair at the tomb, with pious readings and recitations of litanies by the *ṭolba* (cl. *ṭālib* pl. *ṭalaba*—« professional students ») and popular celebrations of dance and music. The keepers of the tomb, the family of ūlād Ben ᶜUmar (awlād b. ᶜUmar), claim to be descendants of Ibn ᶜĀshir or of one of his disciples. Their rights to the offerings brought by pilgrims are recognized by the authorities. Each adult male has his turn (coll. *nūba*) at guarding the sanctuary and collecting the donations. The family is an old and respected one in Salé, and some of its members are thought to possess the *baraka* of the saint, Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir. Many of the ūlād b. ᶜUmar are also allied through marriage to the Ḥassūnī-s, themselves descendants of the disciple of the patron saint of Salé, ᶜAbd Allah b. Ḥasūn.

(56) The story is still known in Salé, where I have collected several versions of it in the course of fieldwork. Some of these are in P. Marty, « La zaouïa de Sidi Ben ᶜĀchir à Salé », in *Revue des études islamiques*, VII (1933), 143-52; and L. Brunot, *La Mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé* (Paris, 1920), p. 55.

(57) Doctor Legey, who spent several years at the beginning of the French Protectorate working in Salé, wrote that she had never seen people so wretched as the insane of Salé. *Essai de folklore marocain* (Paris, 1926), p. 156.

The miracles of Sīdī b. ᶜĀshir are legendary. Aside from curing the sick—especially the blind and those with nervous disorders, rheumatism, and madness—his blessing is said to have quieted the waves of the ocean so that Salé's pirate ships with their plunder and prisoners could enter the port. When in 1844, a French squadron after having bombarded the cities of Tangier and Mogador could not approach Salé because of rough seas, that too was credited to the saint's blessing.

In Salé the historical personage, the 14th century mystic of Marinid times, was transformed during the four ensuing centuries into a healer and protector whose ever-living spirit (and progeny) concerned itself with the well-being of the population. This transformation clearly reflected a major change that took place in Morocco during those four centuries. Several years after the death of Ibn ᶜĀshir in 1362, one of his disciples returned to Salé; he found it a « desert », without intellectual or spiritual activity. There were neither books nor fairs, neither friend nor confidant. The Sufi community was vegetating in mediocrity; the religious life of Salé was stagnant (58).

CHAPTER IV

SALÉ'S UNIQUENESS CONFIRMED

(FIFTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

A. *A Prosperous Port City*

During the period of the decline of the Marinids, and the rise and fall of the Wattasids who succeeded them—i.e., from the mid-14th to the mid-16th centuries—the port of Salé remained Morocco's most important coastal trading center for the merchants of the Mediterranean states and those of Flanders and England. The people of Salé were reputed for their

(58) Nwyia, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, 135. This stagnancy was part of the overall decline of the Muslim West experienced and analyzed by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) in *The Muqaddima*. The study by Lacoste, *op. cit.* presents a most suggestive interpretation of the economic factors of the breakdown.

abilities in commerce. They sold spices, cotton, cloth, ivory, wax, honey, skins, and carpets and bought manufactured objects from Genoa, Catalonia, and Venice, cloth from England, woolens from Flanders, and sugar from Spain (59). Following an enthusiastic report from a French merchant, Francis I (1515-1547) sent an ambassador to the king of Fez to gain access to the Moroccan ports for French commerce; soon afterwards the French ports of Languedoc, Roussillon, and Bayonne also regularly had merchant ships at Salé (60).

Léon l'Africain, a Moroccan taken in slavery by one of the Italian city-states, in his invaluable description of 16th century Africa provides this vignette of Salé:

> The houses are built in the style of the Ancients, much decorated with mosaics and marble columns. Moreover, all of the houses of worship are very beautiful and finely embellished. The same is true of the shops which are situated beneath large and beautiful arcades. In passing before some shops, one sees arches which have been built, it is said, to separate one craft from another.
>
> I have come to the conclusion that Salé possesses all of the luxuries which distinguish a city of refined civilization, as well as being a good port frequented by Christian merchants of various nationalities. ... For it serves as the port of the Kingdom of Fez.
>
> Although Salé was quickly retaken [from the Castillan attack of 1260], it has since remained less populated and cared for. There are, especially near the ramparts, many empty houses with very beautiful columns and windows of marble and various colors. But the people of today do not appreciate them.
>
> The gardens are numerous, as well as the plantations from which a large quantity of cotton is gathered. Most of the inhabitants of the city are weavers and they also make a considerable number of combs at Salé which are sent to be sold in all of the cities of the Kingdom of Fez; near the city is a forest full of Box-tree and other kinds of wood that are good for making these.

(59) P. Ricard, « La ville des deux rives », in *Essai de Rabat-Salé et sa région* (Rabat, 1931), pp. 7-13; R. Ricard, « La côte atlantique au début du XVIe siècle d'après des instructions nautiques portugaises », in *Hesp.*, VIII (1937), 239ff.

(60) *V.T.*, I, 18ff.

> In any case, people live very comfortably today in Salé. There is a governor, a judge, and numerous other officials—those of the customs and the salt marshes—for many Genoese merchants come there and carry out important affairs. Their trade creates important revenues for the King [61].

From Leon's description, Salé appears as an organized, hardworking, reasonably well-off city, a mercantile port more noted for its favorable material conditions than for intellectual, spiritual, or aesthetic qualities (qualities which Leon, despite his conversion, recognizes in Fez). However, 16th century Salé, just as the rest of Morocco, was soon to receive new religious impetus and inspiration.

B. *« Maraboutism » : Sidi ᶜAbd Allah b. Ḥassūn (d. 1604) Patron Saint of Salé*

Many North African cities owe their creation to a religious personage of the 15th-16th centuries. The « maraboutic » expansion of this period has been described as both a « holy war »—a defense against European incursions along the coast and a reappearance of submerged vitalities and of agricultural and sedentary values—a reanimation of peasant Morocco under an Islamic guise [62]. What was the experience of Salé during this period?

The patron saint of Salé, Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah b. Ḥassūn, was born in Slās, a village north of Fez, early in the 16th century. He studied in Fez with the best teachers of the time, including ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid al-Wansharīsī (a scholar who died at the hands of the Saᶜadians for leading resistance in Fez against them). Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah returned to Slās a famous teacher, but conflicts among the tribes in the area soon led him to seek refuge in Salé. It is told that soon after his arrival to Salé a delegation from Slās came to beg him to return. He asked these men to follow him down to the ocean, and there he filled a glass with water. Turning to them, he de-

(61) Jean-Léon l'Africain, *Description de l'Afrique*, new edition translated from Italian by A. Epaulard (Paris, 1956), pp. 169ff.

(62) Jacques Berque, « Médinas, villeneuves et bidonvilles », in *Les cahiers de Tunisie*, Nos. 21-22 (1959), pp. 8ff.

manded to know why the ocean was constantly agitated while the water in the glass was so calm. When they answered that it was because he had removed the water from the ocean, he informed them that in the same ways his removal from their midst had brought him calm and peace and that he would not return to an area of agitation and disorder. The attraction of Salé as a city of refuge still was exerting its pull.

The contemporary sources tell us little about the life of the saint. He was a revered teacher of the legal treatise of Khalīl (for he did not know Ḥadīth) and *Khaṭīb* of the Grand Mosque of Salé; he usually sat in the mosque where he wrote talismans for the people of the city and the countryside who came to visit him. These visits seem to have been rather spectacular. One day, it is reported, an imposing visitor found the saint sitting with his legs stretched out while a group of rural people, prostrated before him, kissed his hands and feet. The visitor was dismayed by this spectacle. Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah sensed the visitor's feelings at once and said: « Can a man about whom it is said, 'Whoever touches his flesh will not be touched by the Fire', be niggardly with his flesh towards Muslims? » (63)

Another legend about Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah demonstrates his superiority over the other saints of Salé. Upon his arrival in the city all of the members of religious orders came out to meet him. These were then joined by all of the population—young and old, slaves and freemen, women and men. Finally all of the saints of the city, living and dead, gathered together off to the side away from the masses. At their head was Sīdī ᶜIddir, then considered « sultan of the saints of Salé ». In his hands he held a bowl full of milk (the typical ceremonial reception of an honored guest among the Berbers). When Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah descended from his horse, he was presented with the bowl of milk. But instead of accepting the milk, the saint took a rose out of his shirt and dropped it into the bowl. When asked the meaning of the rose, he responded by demanding to know the meaning of the milk. The saints responded that the bowl was like their city, as full of milk as the city was of saints. Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah then said that the

(63) *I.W.*, p. 87; M. al-Qādiri (d. 1773), *Nachr al-Mathānī* trans. by A. Graulle, in *A.M.*, XXI (1912), 20. Other material on the saint is in L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, *A.M.* (1906), pp. 170ff., and in J. Cousté, *Les grandes familles indigènes de Salé* (Rabat, 1931), pp. 27-28.

rose thrown into the milk signified that God had placed him among them as a bouquet. Thereupon, Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah was given his place at the head of the saints, as their sultan. Then the saints changed into birds in his honor. Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah, followed by a palm tree that had been accompanying him, then entered the city and went to a spot whereupon the tree fixed itself in the soil (near where the saint's mausoleum later was to be built). Next began a series of daily visits by the notables of the city and by the women (in whose presence the saint transformed himself into a female).

This legend reflects two particularly interesting facets of Salé: that Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah became the 'patron saint', (« *sulṭan l-bled* »—sultan of that territory— in the popular idiom), at a relatively late moment in the city's historical development; that the values represented in his biography were integrated with minimal friction into the belief system of the inhabitants. Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah sanctified Salé, just as its community sanctified him. This interpretation suggests that Berque's analysis—that the « maraboutic » expansion was a reanimation of indigenous energies and values under an Islamic guise— is as valid for the urban Moroccan setting as it is for the rural countryside. If Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah's legendary biography does fit the pattern of « maraboutic expansion » of the period, it is because the image created by the people of Salé, the way in which they sanctified the saint, was their own creation: a man of learning and asceticism who in a rather humble manner accepted the possibility that he might be blessed by God; a saint like others before him in Salé, he convinced the saints themselves, on their own terms, that he would be a welcome addition to their ranks; the notables, the men of learning in the city, accepted him; and even their women went to him, because he had the common decency, the modesty, to appear as one of them.

Part of the specific nature of Salé was that it demanded of its saints « all things for all people ». The population was composite, and various elements had different demands to make of a patron saint (or, for that matter, of the other saints discussed above). Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah and his descendants (some of whom still write on talismans) had mass support. His mausoleum, an extremely beautiful and elaborate construction, continues to be venerated by the Slawis and to be constantly filled with

visitors. The festival commemorating the saint's memory is held on the eve of the *mūlūd*, the birthday of the Prophet (cl. *mawlid*). It is a ceremony full of pomp and circumstance, in which everyone in the city takes part (64).

The extent to which Ibn Ḥassūn's personage has been integrated into the idealized image of learning and religious virtues may be appreciated from the biography given by Salé's historian Ibn ᶜAlī. (The Arabic original is in a rhymed prose that defies imitation.)

The great revered celebrity [« pole », *al-quṭb*]
Our master ᶜAbd Allah the most famous;
Ibn Ḥassūn the great of rank,
To whom Salé owes its fame;
He should be mentioned among the pious,
The greatest of men in success;
The exalted shaykh, notable of notables,
The basis of merit in our city of Salé;
The *Nashr* described him as the pearl of the bridal bed,
Because of his great erudition, and continual abstinence;
A revered, righteous master,
A man of asceticism and a goodly share of science;
He studied with the greatest teachers,
Those of his generation who were thoroughly versed;
He knew the treatise of Khalīl,
By heart and with understanding; his spiritual condition was [exalted;
He could announce the unseen and cure the sick,
With his writings, for he was a friend of God on earth; (*al-walī* [*al-arḍī*)
His spiritual condition was yet stranger than what is told;
His secret more dazzling than what is known;
He had outstanding, excellent students,
Who had previously studied with the noblest of teachers
Words that had long ago been clear,
Going back to the roots and the lofty;
He was offered excellent clothes,
Abundant gifts and presents,

(64) A detailed description of the procession to his tomb is given in my *Social History of a Moroccan Town: Salé, 1830-1930, op. cit.*

Which were cast into a neglected place,
Remaining unused and shabby there;
He is the one who awakened to the *Jihād,*
His worldly disciple Abū 'l-ᶜAyyād,
Muḥammad, the warrior, al-ᶜAyyāshī.
His nobility spread among Mankind;
He was the defender of the Land of the Maghrib,
All through his life beloved for what he was;
He never ceased to be known as a shaykh of the Exalted;
Legendary for his nobility and gift;
He exceeded the age of ninety when he passed away,
In the year one thousand and thirteen, pleased with God;
His grave is until now fresh and well known,
But his nobility is beyond what I can describe ([65]).

In these verses there is little indication of the submerged vitalities and agricultural values expressed by the saints of the 15th and 16th centuries. Although such values were reflected in the biography of Ibn Ḥassūn, local traditions in Salé molded images into a classical type Islamic guise.

c. *al-ᶜAyyāshī and the Defense of Moroccan Soil*

During the 15th and 16th centuries there was a dramatic change in the balance of power among the countries of the western Mediterranean. The fall of Muslim Granada in 1492 marked the end of over seven centuries of Moroccan expansion into and settlement in the Iberian Peninsula. Within a quarter of a century, all but one of the important maritime cities of the Moroccan Atlantic coast had fallen to the rising empires of Spain and Portugal. The exception was Salé ([66]).

Among the many people who came to Salé during this period was Maḥammad al-ᶜAyyāshī (mentioned above as a disciple of Ibn Ḥassūn),

(65) *I.A.*, pp. 42-43.

(66) an-Nāṣirī, *K.I.*, II, 155-56, gives a dramatic resumé from the Muslim point of view of this startling shift of power. See also *V.T.*, I, 131, on the ports that had been lost.

one of the most popular heroes of Moroccan history (67). al-ᶜAyyāshī originated from the Banū Mālik, one of the Hilālī Arab tribes that had settled in the Gharb, the hinterland beyond Salé. Taking up residence in the city around the end of the 16th century, he is said to have devoted himself to a life of study and asceticism under the guidance of his shaykh ᶜAbd Allah b. Ḥassūn and to have distinguished himself by piety, silence, continual fasting, and reading of the Quran. One day, according to the legend, Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah was presented with a horse by a group of tribal leaders who had come to visit him. He called for his disciple al-ᶜAyyāshī and told him to mount the horse and to forego his education in order to discover, with the help of God, his well-being in this world and the one to come. The saint swore his disciple by an oath to carry out his duty, blessed him, and instructed him to ride to the city of Azemmour.

Within several years of this legendary episode, al-ᶜAyyāshī had become governor of Azemmour, defender of southern Morocco against the Spanish and the Portuguese, and a dangerous rival to the Saᶜadian dynasty that had come to power during the first half of the 16th century. In 1614 al-ᶜAyyāshī narrowly escaped an assassination planned by the Saᶜdian sultan and returned to Salé (68). From then until his death in 1641 at the hands of an Arab tribe of the Gharb, al-ᶜAyyāshī fought the Spanish and Portuguese along the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and became independent ruler of the area north and east of Salé (69).

D. *The Moriscos*

At the same time that al-ᶜAyyāshī confirmed in a new context Salé's historical role as a frontier post of the holy wars, the last Muslim refugees from the Iberian Peninsula were settling on the other side of the river at the Casbah and in Rabat. Both Muslim and Jewish refugees from the

(67) « There is probably no personage in the history of Morocco with the exception of the two Idrīses who, at present, is more popular in the country, than the *Mujāhid* Maḥammad al-ᶜAyyāshī. » Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens de chorfa* (Paris, 1922), p. 347.

(68) *K.I.*, III, 108.

(69) An excellent summary of his life and the internal configuration and conflicts leading to the rise of the Dilā'i dynasty is in M. Ḥajji, *az-Zāwiya ad-Dilā'īya* (Rabat, 1964), esp. pp. 143ff.

Peninsula had been coming in isolated groups to settle in Salé since long before the fall of Granada in 1492. But when the last of the *Mudéjares* (the Muslims settled in the Peninsula) and Moriscos (converts to Christianity who remained or were accused of remaining Muslim in secret) were expelled by a series of edicts by King Philip II from 1609 to 1614, they were unable to settle permanently in Salé ([70]). Ibn ᶜAlī tells us that some of them indeed rented houses in the city, but because of their non-Muslim ways, Spanish dress, language, and manners, their lack of shame and dignity, they were not allowed to settle permanently in Salé ([71]).

In 1610 the Hornacheros, former inhabitants of the Spanish city of Hornachos, set themselves up on the southern bank of the river, where they built a citadel called « Qaṣbat Salā », the Casbah of Salé. The Hornacheros had remained a cohesive group, distinguished by their fervent attachment to Islam and retention of the Arabic language, their wealth (which they succeeded in removing from Spain), and a reputation for brigandage. Once having built up the Casbah, they began to encourage other refugees who had come to Morocco to settle beside them in the area that became the city of Rabat. The three city-state agglomerations—Salé, the Casbah, and Rabat—were distinctive, even though the European sources from which so much information for the period comes often refer to them collectively, or to any one of the three of them, indiscriminately, as Salé.

When al-ᶜAyyāshī sought refuge in old Salé, the leaders of the three cities agreed to protect him. Soon afterwards, the « Andalous » of Rabat cut their ties with the Saᶜadian dynasty at Marrakesh and appointed their own governor, whom they made responsible to an assembly elected for a limited period of time. Thus, the first Republic of the Two Banks was formed. The inhabitants of the Casbah followed suit and formed a second city-state, around 1627. Both « republics » were in good relations with al-ᶜAyyāshī, whose influence at that time extended from Salé as far as Tetouan, and they recognized his authority while retaining their internal

(70) The historical problem is treated in detail in F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1948), pp. 576ff.

(71) *V.T.*, I, 65, n. 1; *I.W.*, p. 30. On the other hand, Fez and Tetouan seem to have absorbed the Moriscos without difficulty.

autonomy. They also seem to have contributed militarily to his wars against the Christian invaders along the coast.

We do not know the internal organization of Salé at this time, but it is clear that it no longer recognized the suzerainty of Mawlāy Zaydān, the Saᶜadian Sultan at Marrakesh (72). The people of Salé and the surrounding tribes are said to have given allegiance to al-ᶜAyyāshī for two reasons: to defend their pasture lands to the north (against the Portuguese, who had taken the city of Mehdiya at the mouth of the Sebou River about twenty miles north of Salé), and to put an end to the insecurity caused by the tribes in and around the city. The sultan's name was no longer to be mentioned in the *khuṭba*, the Friday sermon: « The people agreed to appoint the saint, the pious, the learned, the warrior [*al-wālī aṣ-ṣāliḥ, al-ᶜallāma, al-mujāhid*] Maḥammad al-ᶜAyyāshī as-Salāwī as commander in the Holy War [*al-Jihād fī sabili'llah*] (73).

After a successful expedition against the Spanish fortress at Mehdiya, al-ᶜAyyāshī's authority was complete. He settled in Salé, building two forts southwest of the city opposite the Casbah. (These were connected to his house, which was within the walls of the city on the site where the French later built the « Ecole de fils de notables », by a tunnel whose discovery still offers adventure to Slawi school-children.)

E. *Internal Conflicts of the « Three Republics »*

> From 1627 until 1641, new Salé and the Casbah were almost continually at war, either between themselves or against old Salé. The Sharīfs (Saᶜadians) and especially the marabout al-ᶜAyyāshī intervened in these struggles, but the rivalry between Hornacheros and Andalous (Moriscos) is the primary cause of troubles that are interrupted at most two or three times for a few years of calm (74).

(72) See the account of a delegation from Salé to the Sultan and their realization that the dynasty was no longer able to defend them against the Christians in *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saᶜadienne,* ed. by G. Colin (Rabat, 1943), p. 103. Much information on this very complex period is summarized by M. Ḥajjī, *op. cit.*, pp. 170ff., who has made use of a multitude of unpublished Arabic sources; and in J. Caillé, *La Ville de Rabat jusqu'au protectorat français,* I (Paris, 1949), 209ff., who has exploited the contemporary European sources.

(73) *I.W.*, pp. 11-12; on the alliance of the tribes under al-ᶜAyyāshī and his recognition by the ᶜulama as « the restorer of sacred prescriptions and the defender of the weak against the oppressors », see an-Nāṣirī, *K.I.*, III, 131ff.

(74) J. Caillé, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the internal conflicts of the newcomers from the Iberian Peninsula nor the development of the left bank of the Bou Regreg, except insofar as they influenced the life of Salé. It is important, however, to attempt to understand the origin of a deep and lasting animosity between the populations of Rabat and Salé, and to comprehend some of the historical elements that influenced the Slawis' image of themselves.

The Moriscos as a group had been unable to settle in Salé. The habits and language that they had brought with them from their former cities, the lukewarmness of their Islamic practices, and the scope of the transactions with Christian merchants served to set them apart and to make them suspect and objects of envy in the eyes of the long-settled residents of Salé and their rural allies. Moreover, the refugees are said to have refused to aid al-ᶜAyyāshī against the Spanish, and indeed, they have been accused of betraying him. al-ᶜAyyāshī asked the ᶜulama for a *fatwa,* a judicial opinion allowing him to make war against these people. The *fatwa* was given, « for they have opposed God and His prophet and aided the infidels and given them counsel ... they manage to their liking the property of Muslims, depriving them of profit and monopolizing trade to their benefit » (75). Thereupon, al-ᶜAyyāshī had his cannons fire on the Casbah while his son led 5,000 soldiers in a siege against the left bank from the site of Chella. For a year the attacks and siege continued (1631-32), but without success.

Four years later the Andalous of Rabat, after having taken the Casbah from the Hornacheros, constructed a pontoon bridge over the Bou Regreg to transport artillery and troops in order to blockade Salé. Within two months al-ᶜAyyāshī, who had been absent, hurried back to defend the city. With the aid of the English Admiral Rainsborough (whose ships were in port to transport ransomed Christian prisoners), the bridge was destroyed and the blockade lifted. Another siege of the left bank by al-ᶜAyyāshī followed. With Rainsborough's help the Casbah and Rabat were effectively cut off from supplies and their fields burned. The Slawis offered peace terms : repair of the damage done to Salé, half of the benefits from

(75) *K.I.*, III, 130-31.

customs' duties and pirate booty, and the return of the Hornacheros chased from the Casbah. Soon afterwards the English left and the Sa^cadian Sultan re-established token authority in Rabat. But within months al-ᶜAyyāshī again attacked the Andalous. The latter called for the assistance of the Dilāᶜis, a Berber dynasty whose power had spread from the area around Khenifra. The armies engaged each other in the Gharb. al-ᶜAyyāshī, his forces defeated, sought refuge with an allied tribe, the Khlot, but was betrayed and murdered by them (1614). The Dilāᶜis gained control of and put an end to the independence of the three city-states of the Bou Regreg. Possession of the port, because of its role as an entrepôt for European trade in fire-arms and powder, had become an indispensable condition for the establishment of power in Morocco.

The thirty-year struggle for control over this vital area along Morocco's coast had been exacerbated by the clash of different peoples. Salé, an established urban center in close contact with its surrounding tribal environs, was confronted with a suddenly dangerous rival in the presence of the expelees from the Iberian Peninsula.

The struggles of the 17th century became in time vague historical memories. The Slawis, who had considered the new intruders at Rabat as *an-Naṣārā 'l-Qashtalīyīn* (the Christians of Castille), came to call them « *l-Mslmīn d-r-Rbāṭ* » (coll., the « Muslims » of Rabat), a slightly humorous, partly bitter allusion to their laxity in religious matters. The Rabatis, with a comparable irony, « remember » the madness of the people of Salé. They say about them: « *kayiḥmaqu fi-l-ᶜaṣr* » (coll.: « They go mad at the time of the afternoon prayer »). The Slawis « remember », too. They say that in the days of al-ᶜAyyāshī, while the people of Rabat treated with the infidels during the day, the Slawis went about their work. At the time of the evening prayer, however, they took up arms to fight against the traitors of Rabat. But the two cities « within a sackershott one of another » (following Admiral Rainsborough's phrase) (76), became friendly enemies. They are called *al-ᶜudwatayn* (the « Two Banks ») which, by the play of the Arabic root, reminds people of *al-ᶜaduwayn* (the « Two Enemies »). The mutual antipathy of the two populations becomes no more than ban-

(76) *S.I.*, 1re Sér., Pays-Bas, V, 309.

tering, and is expressed by both of them in a sagacious colloquial proverb: *wakha ywellī l-wed ḥlīb war-rmel zbīb, maykunshi r-Rbāṭī li-s-Slāwī ḥbīb* (« Were the river [Bou Regreg] to become milk and the sand raisins, a Rabati will never be a friend to a Slawi »). The « friendly enemies » across the river at Rabat were at the worst hostile brothers. For all that, they were Muslims and had assimilated to the Arabic culture of the country.

CHAPTER V

THE CORSAIRS OF SALÉ

> As in all lands where there are many people there are some theeves, so in all seas much frequented there are some pyrats (77).
>
> Captain John Smith, President of Virginia

> ... the « Sallee Rovers » bulked more largely in history and romance, and were the cause of more diplomatic missions, correspondence and expense, than it seems possible to believe so despicable a band of ruffians could ever become to maritime powers owning guns enough to pound this den of thieves into its native dust (78).

Shipbuilding and piracy had been enterprises in Salé since as early as the 13th century. However, the development of a fleet of corsairs who could terrorize the high seas and the coasts of Europe did not begin until the arrival of the Hornacheros and Moriscos on the left bank of the Bou Regreg. A French study of the « Sallee Rovers » insists that « c'est dans la ville actuelle de Rabat, et non pas à Salé, qu'habitaient les fameux

(77) Quoted in B. Meakin, *The Moorish Empire: A Historical Epitome* (London and New York, 1899), p. 256.

(78) R. Brown in the Introduction to *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow of Penryn, Mariner. Three and Twenty Years in Captivity among the Moors* (London, 1890; orig. ed., 1740).

aventuriers dits Salétins ou corsaires de Salé et qu'on eût appelés, de nos jours, plus exactement : pirates de Rabat » (79). Although the rise of piracy in the Bou Regreg undoubtedly was due to the new immigrants, the lists of captains and crew members show that the population of Salé played an active role in that Muslim-Christian « re-establishment of natural equilibrium broken by History » (80). At the beginning of the 17th century piracy greatly contributed to the commonly shared wealth of the Three Republics and caused much of their internal conflict.

From 1618 until 1626 alone, the pirates of the Bou Regreg are reported (probably with much exaggeration) to have captured 6,000 Christians and to have taken booty worth at least 15 million livres (81). The fleet of pirate ships that raided the English, French, and Spanish coasts numbered between thirty and forty. Each ship had about twenty cannons and was manned by some two hundred sailors (82). One of the reasons for the success of these pirates was the particular nature of the sand bar at the entrance to the Bou Regreg which made it possible only for relatively small boats to enter the harbor. Thus, European ships, being of heavy tonnage, could not strike back unless they apprehended the pirate ships on the high seas.

Tens of books and articles have been written about the corsairs of Salé. Most of them have stressed the role of renegades in organizing and leading piracy (83). Undoubtedly certain motley elements from other corsair cities of the Mediterranean were attracted to the Bou Regreg. Religion apart, there were many resemblances between the social and economic structure of the Three Republics, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and those of Genoa, Pisa, Livorno, and Barcelona at the same period. The common features of 17th century Mediterranean civilization (84), including the North African

(79) R. Coindreau, *Les Corsaires de Salé* (Paris, 1948), p. 40.

(80) The phrase is F. Braudel's and is quoted in J. Monlau, *Les états barbaresques* (Paris, 1964), p. 39. It suggests that piracy was at least as much a European phenomenon as a North African one.

(81) *S.I.*, 1re Sér., Pays-Bas, V, 11.

(82) Caillé, *op. cit.*, p. 225; *I.W.*, p. 20.

(83) Cf. L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé* (Paris, 1920), where his conclusion appears on the title page: « La civilisation maritime de Rabat-Salé a été un accident provoqué par les étrangers. »

(84) Cf. Braudel, *op. cit.*, pp. 693ff.

Muslim maritime city-states, deserve to be studied from all sides of the lake. There do seem, however, to be « ideological » differences, and it is interesting to examine in this light the values and rationale that the people of Salé attached to piracy.

In a chapter headed « The Fleet of the Holy War or the Slawi Piracy » (*usṭūl al-jihād aw al-qarṣana as-salāwīya*), Muḥammad Ḥajjī has pointed out that piracy, the Arabic *qarṣana*, is not to be understood in terms of the foreign derivations of its original Latin meaning, that is, the French *course*, privateering. « Rather », he writes, « I mean by the Slawi corsairs those warriors [*mujāhids*], Andalous and Moroccans, who boldly embarked in their ships on the waves of the ocean to defend the territory of the homeland or to rise against the Spaniards who forced upon the Muslims of al-Andalus the worst kind of suffering and unjustly made them leave their homes and possessions » ([85]).

Thus, for the people of Salé, fighting and looting on high seas or the coasts of Europe was justified as a continuation both of the holy wars of the earlier dynasties and of the defense of the coast by the likes of al-ᶜAyyāshī. The corsairs, « men of noble and proud character » ([86]), had the blessings of the saints of Salé and were integrated into the community of the city. That is not to deny, however, that at least some pirates were renegades and that their original purpose in coming to Salé was to share in the general wealth brought by the « holy war ». « Look in the trunk of the Ḥassār family and you will find an old Christian sailor's cap. The *ulūj* [Christian slave] origin of the Fenīsh family is no more hidden than the blue of their eyes » are derisory comments still heard in Salé when people talk about some of the old renegade families of the city. Although there were *aslāmīs* (coll., converts to Islam), in Salé, their origins were not an obstacle to complete assimilation to the norms and values of the community, nor to their reaching positions of power in society. The pressures toward social and cultural integration in Salé made these renegade pirates into warriors in the name of religion.

(85) *az-Zāwiya ad-dilā'īya*, p. 174.
(86) *I.A.*, p. 20.

A. *Trade and Prosperity in the Best Port in the Maghrib*

Salé had long been an important port for European merchants and for their Moroccan counterparts. During the 17th and a good part of the 18th centuries, commercial activity at the mouth of the Bou Regreg river greatly increased. The port was by far the most important of Morocco. That piracy and maritime trade co-existed was a natural necessity. Manufactured goods, especially arms and gunpowder, were purchased from European merchant ships coming to the port of Salé, and European merchants at Salé and Rabat (primarily the latter) provided the main customers for the booty of the pirates. Contraband was an important object of international trade in Moroccan cities, just as it was at Livorno, Pisa, and Genoa, because the main markets for these goods existed in western Europe. In addition, the whole mechanism for ransoming captives demanded a permanent point of contact between the European nations and Morocco. These negotiations were mostly carried out at Rabat and Salé by specialists, members of the religious orders of Europe and the merchants of the two cities [87].

The most important commercial representation at Rabat and Salé came from Holland and England. The former signed treaties of commerce with Salé in 1610, 1615, 1657, 1658, and 1659, and on the last occasion a delegation from Salé was received by the famous professor of Arabic, Jacobus Golius, who arranged for the sending of manuscripts from Morocco. One of the members of that delegation, Ibṛahīm Maᶜānīnu, was from an old Slawi family that has continually provided individuals for positions of power and responsibility.

By the middle of the 17th century the French had also established contractual trade relations with the port of Salé-Rabat and had their first consul general on the rue des Consuls of Rabat. It is difficult to evaluate the absolute value of foreign trade at this time, yet bits of evidence suggest that the extent of trade was significant: e.g., the single city of Marseilles is known to have had several ships call at Salé every year, each of which carried cargo of a value exceeding 4,000 crowns. These ships returned to

(87) *S.I.*, 1re Sér., Pays-Bas, V, 15ff.; H. de Castries, « Le Maroc d'autrefois, Les Corsaires de Salé », in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1903, p. 828. .

France loaded with skins, wool, ostrich feathers, and *mendicats*, or gold coins. Salé as an entrepôt for caravans coming from the Sudan and from the Sahara still played some role in exporting goods to Europe. Besides grain and skins, the caravans brought precious metals—copper, bronze, tangoul (a cooper and tin mixture), various goods such as gum arabic, sandarac, euphorbia, and items that were in Europe luxuries—dates, ivory, and plumes. On the other hand, Salé provided a market for such European goods as paper, tartar (for making dyes), and cloth of various kinds. The value of imports from France alone during one year at the end of the 17th century reached one-half million francs. The profits realized by the French at Salé were important. From the Moroccan side, the central government benefited by taxing whatever entered or left the port at ten to twenty-five per cent ([88]).

A Christian captive who spent many years in Morocco toward the end of the 17th century reports that the wealthiest merchants lived in Salé rather than Rabat (which he calls Raval) and that they were both Muslim and Jewish ([89]). The Jewish community of Morocco often has been described as the country's window toward Europe. In that regard it is interesting to turn our attention at this point to its situation and role in Salé during the 17th and 18th centuries.

B. *The Jewish Community of Salé*

During the capture of the area around the Bou Regreg by Mawlāy Idrīs I, most of the population of Christians, Jews, and Magians had accepted the new religion of Islam. There are, however, several traditions that suggest that not all of the Jewish population converted to Islam. Some Jews sought refuge in the south of Morocco and retained in their oral history the memory of an early sojourn at Salé, while others remained in the area and were perhaps among the elements that came to live in Salé during its reconstruction by the Banū ʿAshara ([90]). Ibn ʿAlī, Salé's his-

(88) *V.T.*, I, 120ff.

(89) *Travels of the Sieur Mouette in Fez and Morocco during his Eleven Years Captivity in those Parts* (London, 1710), p. 5; trans. *Relation de captivité* (Paris, 1683).

(90) Slousch in *A.M.*, VI (1906), 39, 42, 56, 68, 128; *V.T.*, I, 210.

torian, provides an interesting account of the origins of the Jewish community of Salé (91). The Jews are said to have lived in Salé since before the coming of the Arabs. The Jewish community there continued to flourish after the conquest and their quarter of the city was one of the most important and best situated, running to the north and west of the old Marinid School of Medicine (i.e., the present-day quarters of Bāb Ḥusayn and al-Millāḥ al-Qadīm, « the old Jewish quarter »). Following the Spanish Inquisition of 1492, many Jews came to Salé, as well as to the other cities of Morocco. They brought with them the refinements of Andalusian civilization. Late in the 16th century, four hundred widows expelled from Portugal are said to have joined their coreligionists at Salé. Experts at embroidery, especially with gold and silver thread, they worked together with and taught the other women of the city—Muslim and Jewish—their arts.

Ibn ᶜAlī goes on to say that from the 13th until the 18th century the Jewish community of Salé was very prosperous. Commerce and banking were on the whole in their hands, and they were often called upon to occupy important posts in the government, especially as ambassadors to the European powers. They continually retained the confidence of the ruling dynasties. Thus, early in the 18th century, Mosheh Ben ᶜAṭṭār, from a family of Salé famous for its men of learning and for its merchants, was the principal banker of the ᶜAlawid Sultan Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl; he signed a treaty for the Sultan with England in 1721 and was, at the same time, the *Nagīd*—the head of the Jewish community in all of Morocco. His house, which still stands in the center of Bāb Ḥusayn (« Ḍār Ben ᶜAṭṭār », now a girls' school) was palatial. Ibn ᶜAlī also suggests that there must have been an older Jewish cemetery in Salé, because he had found a tombstone in the gardens of Biṭṭāna, east of the city, with the Hebrew inscription, « Here lies Amran Ben Ḥayūt, Minister of Finance of the Sharifian Empire ».

(91) Ibn ᶜAlī is said to have written a book about the history of the Jews in Morocco, but I was unable to trace it. He regularly met with the head rabbi of Salé, Raphael Encaoua (d. 1935), who seems to have been one of the main sources of his information. The notes of the interview mentioned here are in the Archives of the Alliance Israelite in Paris, No. VI.B.27 (Mme K. Nahum, « Une page d'histoire », Salé, 12/15/27).

The historical sources at our disposal corroborate much of this general picture. Studies of the various Jewish communities of Morocco show that Salé was one of the leading centers of study and of wealth (92). Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Salé seems to have been unstable, its leaders in constant movement between the important cities of North Africa and Europe. They fare badly with certain rulers during periods of upheaval, e.g., Ghaylān, who ruled all of the area of the Gharb during the 1660's and is said to have mistreated the Jews of Salé and to have forced many of them to leave the city. On the other hand, Mawlāy ar-Rashīd, the first sultan to take Salé in the name of the ᶜAlawid dynasty (ca. 1667), is considered by the sources to have been « a great lover of the people of Israel » (93). The Jewish population was also mobile in another sense, for if natural or economic conditions worsened in a given city, they were quick to emigrate to another. Thus, during periods of famine in the late 17th century, we learn that many Jews from Meknes and Fez came to settle in Salé, where the effects were less strongly felt. These general movements of population to and from Salé may well have been equally shared in by both Muslim or Jew. Yet, the mobility of the Jewish communities of Morocco appears to have been even greater than that of the Muslims. The wide network of contacts and alliances among wide-flung Jewish communities certainly made displacement from city to city, or country to country, relatively uncomplicated.

Miège has shown that the physical mobility and networks of relations of Moroccan Jews allowed them to play an essential role as intermediaries in the 19th century commerce between Morocco and Europe (94). However, their role as intermediaries in Morocco and for Morocco has a long

(92) Cf. Y. M. Toledano, *Sefer ner ha-maᶜarav: hū tōldōt Yisra'el b-Marōqō* (Jerusalem, 1904), pp. 50ff., 69, 74, 90, 117ff., 129, 133, 152ff.; Rabbi Y. Sasportas, *Sefer tsaytzat nōvel tzvī* (ed. Jerusalem, 1954). Sasportas, a descendant of Maimonides, was born in Oran and lived in Salé for a good part of the 17th century. He later lived in Europe, but while at Salé he always had contacts with and visitors from such far-flung places as Jerusalem, Livorno, Hamburg, Amsterdam; the Sultan of Morocco used him as an ambassador to the court of Spain. The introduction and critical notes to his work by Schwarz and Tashbi show the positive manner in which the community of Salé reacted to the Sabbatai Zevi Messianic movement; other recent studies are H. Z. Hirschberg, *Tōldōt hayhūdim b-Afrīqa ha-tzfōnīt* (2 vol.; Jerusalem, 1965); I. D. Abbou, *Musulmans Andalous et Judéo-Espagnols* (Casablanca, 1953).

(93) Sasportas in Toledano, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

(94) *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, II (Paris, 1961), 88ff.

historical precedent. The commercial activity of the Jews in Salé from the 16th through the 18th centuries offers ample examples of this. A French source in 1681, e.g., gives the misleading impression that there are more Jews in Salé than Muslims, for almost all of the commerce of the country is in their hands ([95]). Most trade in armaments seems to have passed between former Marranos (Jews of the Iberian Peninsula who had pretended to accept Catholicism to escape the Inquisition) settled in Amsterdam and Salé after their expulsion from the Peninsula late in the 16th century. Within the Jewish community of Salé, newcomers from Spain were in discord with the Jews already settled there, differences which parallel on a lesser scale the frictions caused by Moriscos within the Muslim community. Those « exiled » from Iberia (called *mgūrashīm* [Hebrew] among Moroccan Jews) set themselves apart by their dress, which followed the customs of the Christians, and by their general behavior and sense of cultural superiority. To the indigenous Jewish population, the « settlers » (*tōshavīm* [Hebrew]), they appeared pretentious, ridiculous and dangerous—especially because of their espousal of the Sabbatai Zevi Messianic movement ([96]).

One of the main saints of Moroccan Jewry, Rabbi Ḥayyim Ben ᶜAṭṭār, was born in Salé at the end of the 17th century. A man of wide learning, he wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and taught Jewish philosophy and mysticism in a school that he founded in Salé. Like some of his Muslim counterparts in the city, he came to be considered a saint by the Jewish population of Morocco, famous for his religiosity and ability to perform miracles. One of the many legends about Ben ᶜAṭṭār tells how he hid his supernatural powers from other men until certain events showed that God wanted him to reveal himself as a saint. His life also exemplifies the particularly mobile character of the Jews of Salé. Before he became famous, he is said to have wandered from city to city and from village to

(95) *S.I.*, 2e Sér., I, 582: « [Salé] est plus habitée de Juifs que de Mores, sans lesquels ce pays n'auroit presque pas de commerce et qui se plairoient davantage, seroient mesme beaucoup moins esclaves soubs les Chrétiens que soubs le joug. »... See also in V, 526, a letter written in 1699 which speaks of 400-500 Jewish merchants living in Salé who are heavily taxed and in constant fear of pillage by the king.

(96) On Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676) and the spread of his Messianic movement throughout the Jewish world, see M. Margolis and A. Marx, *History of the Jewish People* (New York, 1960), pp. 558ff.

village. Later, after he had established himself in his native city of Salé, difficult conditions set in. He then went to Italy and from there to Jerusalem ,where he set up a synagogue and had many followers. He died in Jerusalem in 1743 (97).

C. *Aḥmad Ḥajjī: Holy Warrior and Mystic Saint*

By the year 1670 Mawlāy ar-Rashīd had established the authority of the Sharif dynasty of the ᶜAlawids throughout all of the country. Although Salé's autonomy was lost to the sovereignty of the Sultan, the spirit of independence among the people of the city remained very much alive, as some of the events of the next century were to prove.

Salé had been eclipsed in importance by its sister city Rabat, now larger in size and population. Yet, just as during the period of the Three Republics, the role of Salé in the piracy and commerce of the Bou Regreg remained inextricably intertwined with that of Rabat. Each city has its own local *qā'id,* or governor, but these were now under the orders of the Sultan. The seventeenth century governors of Salé were almost always local and usually members of the still existent Maᶜanīnū and Fenīsh families. Dignitaries from both of these families were also among the numerous ambassadors sent to the great powers (98). The most well-known embassy was that of the famous corsair of Salé, ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜĪsa. It took place in 1698-99, and seems to have been quite an event, at least for the French court: « Dans les salons parisiens, on vantait sa dignité, sa

(97) Toledano, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and D. Noy, in *Shivᶜīm sipūrīm v-sipūr mi-pī yhūdai Marōqō* (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 72ff., 141, who collected legends from a Moroccan Jew born in Ūfrān of the Anti-Atlas about 1890. The informant's grandfather had been born in Safed, Palestine and was of Moroccan descent (the family name Abuṭbol is of Moroccan origin). The grandfather came to Salé in the 1830's as an emissary for a benevolent society in Palestine (*ᶜEzrat Dalīm*) and when he learned that his wife had died in the Safed earthquake of 1837, he decided to remain in Morocco and finally settled in Ūfrān. Thus, the continual mobility of Moroccan Jews clearly extends into the 19th century.

(98) D. O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique,* trans. from Flemish (Amsterdam, 1686), pp. 141ff.; the French consul of Salé (.e., Rabat), writing in 1697, says that there are three separate governors in Rabat-Salé, as well as a governor of the merchants, called al-Caid of the port. *S.I.*, 2e Sér., IV, 546.

générosité, son esprit et 'la délicatesse de sa galanterie'. A la cour comme à la ville, on répétait ses bons mots et ses réparties, que les gazettes reproduisaient avec complaisance. » [99]

At the same time that embassies were being exchanged and commerce continued between Europe and Morocco, the *Jihād* against the Christian powers was pursued unceasingly on the seas and along the coasts. The French, as a punishment for hostile acts of piracy, blockaded and bombarded Salé in 1680, as they had done before in 1629, and as they were to do again with increasing tolls of damage during the following two centuries. In England Daniel Defoe had immortalized Salé in the English imagination by his *Robinson Crusoe* and Grub Street was to remain occupied with the « Sallee Rovers » and « Barbary Slavery » through the 18th century. In 1699 an English poet sang the praises of an expedition « against barbarous crews of Turkish pirates » along the North African coast, another general term for Barbary corsairs, but particularly used to designate those of Salé [100].

The European states also continued to carry on piracy. A letter from Salé addressed to the States of Holland, dated 1640, complains that two of its ships have been captured by Dutch sailors. A list is attached with the names of those who owned merchandise on the ships, and among the names is that of Aḥmad Ḥajjī (d. 1691), the last great saint of Salé. Sīdī « Ḥmed » was in many ways the most interesting of those men buried in the city who have helped to create its fame. A mosque built next to his tomb and bearing his name was for a long time the only other Friday mosque in Salé besides the Grand Mosque. It stands near the *sūq al-kabīr*, the Grand Market, in the midst of the popular and commercial quarters of the city. The descendants of the saint traditionally have been considered *shurfa* (coll. from cl. *shurafā'*, descendants of the Prophet), although most people suspected that they were simply *ūlād siyyid* (coll. from *awlād sayyid*, descendants of a venerated saint). The members of this family

(99) In J. Caillé, « Ambassades et missions marocaines en France », in *Hesp.*, XLVII (1960), 51.

(100) « The Turks they sooth us with treaty, they smooth us up fine and neatly; Till they have brought about their ends, And then they care not to be friends... ». John Balthorpe, *The Streights Voyage*, quoted in *Hesp.*, IV (1929).

have been numerous and, especially since the late 19th century many have played important roles in the life of the city.

Aḥmad Ḥajjī combined the qualities of the mystic with those of the defender of the land of Islam. He is said to have led three hundred *mujāhids,* or warriors, from Salé in the famous attack against the Spaniards in 1681 which forced them to evacuate that city. Ibn ʿAlī reports that during the final battle in which Mehdiya was rid forever of the Christian enemy, « all of the notables of the population of God were there, Shaykh Sīdī Aḥmad Ḥajjī among them. Thus, he and his descendants became known to [the ʿAlawid sultan] Mawlāy Ismāʿīl » (101). Ḥajjī also played a role in the ensuing negotiations with the Spanish for which the Sultan accorded him a highly valued Decree of Honor and Respect, (*ẓahīr at-ṭawqīr wa-'l-iḥtirām*), while the Spanish presented him with a ceremonial sword, souvenirs of glory which have been passed down from generation to generation among the descendants of the saint.

Aḥmad Ḥajjī, after having studied Islamic mysticism under men who continued the teachings of the famous Moroccan mystic, al-Jazūlī (d. 1465) (102), founded a religious order (*ṭarīqa*) in Ṣalé. Its adepts gave themselves over to ecstatic spiritual exercises—to being possessed (*jadhb*) rather than to a certain kind of behavior (*sulūk*), as was the practice of most of the other orders of Salé. The legends about « Sīdī Ḥmed » Ḥajjī extol the simplicity of his life and the consistency of his diligence in prayer. He is said to have been a weaver, one of the most menial tasks in Salé—for it means sitting in a dim atelier from morning to night, continually moving the threads of the loom to and fro; words of prayer were never absent from his lips, both during the hours of work and nightly vigils in the mosque. His followers mainly came from among artisans of the city and outsiders who came to Salé from the nearby countryside.

(101) *I.W.*, p. 48.

(102) Cf. « Djazūli » in *E.I.2*. A general, though hardly adequate, treatment of Sufism and religious orders in Morocco may be found in G. Spillmann (Pseud. Drague), *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc* (Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, II, Paris, 1951). On al-Jazūlī, see pp. 55ff. More valuable is A. Bel's, *La Religion musulmane en Berbérie : Esquisse d'histoire et de sociologie religieuses,* I (Paris, 1938), 376ff.

The funeral of Sīdī Ḥmed is reported to have been a memorable day in the history of Salé. The saint was buried in the lodge (*zāwiya*) that he had founded and had left as a pious endowment for his descendants, over which a magnificent dome (*qubba*) soon was constructed. The son of Aḥmad Ḥajjī, ᶜAbd Allah al-Jazzār (d. 1710), inherited the saint's secret, his *baraka*. ᶜAbd Allah continued as leader (*muqaddim*) of the religious order, and after his death the office was passed on to his son, al-Faqīh Fāris Abū Midyān (d. 1756). The latter, near the end of the reign of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl (d. 1727), was entrusted with the construction of a Friday mosque, the Jāmiᶜ Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl, beside the grave of Sīdī Ḥmed. The grandson, Abū Midyān, then was given a decree by the Sultan appointing him *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the mosque and declaring the area around the mosque and lodge a *ḥurma*—an inviolable area in which any one who was persecuted, even by the authorities, could find refuge. Endowments of property, both private and governmental, were continually made to the benefit of the mosque and lodge, and the latter came to possess thereby a rich library. The Ḥajjī family in Salé is the only lineage group in the city whose influence and prestige might call to mind those who have holy geneologies and social roles based upon them in the Moroccan countryside. Yet the qualities emphasized in describing the family reflect first and foremost the urban values of piety and learning ([103]).

Among the biographies of the learned and pious of Salé, Ibn ᶜAlī includes the lives of fourteen men, in addition to Aḥmad Ḥajjī, who lived between 1660 and 1780. Half of these were members of families still well known in the city; four were descendants of the prophet (*shurafā'*), while all of them are referred to as « friends of God », or saints (*awliyā'*); and at least two held important offices. In reading these biographies one is struck by the outward resemblances and continuity in the pattern of these men's spiritual and intellectual lives, as if they were all links of a single chain. An instructive example is the biography of Aḥmad b. ᶜĀshir al-Ḥāfī (d. ca. 1747). According to Ibn ᶜAlī, al-Ḥāfī was the most learned man

(103) The main sources for the life of Aḥmad Ḥajjī and his descendants is Ibn ᶜAlī, whose maternal grandfather, al-Faqīh Sīdī al-Ḥarthī Ḥajjī (d. 1855) was a respected scholar and sixth generation descendant of the saint: *I.W.*, pp. 48, 93-94. See also, Cousté, *op. cit.*, pp. 30ff.

of his generation and the pride of Salé. His teachers were the finest in all Morocco, and he kept an account of their lives and the subjects he had studied with them. He wrote a biography of the saint of Salé, his namesake (though not his ascendant), Ibn ᶜĀshir. Honor and respect were reflected on a man by his teachers and his students. Among Al-Ḥāfī's students was the Qadi Muḥammad b. Ḥajjī Znībar (d. 1780) and his son al-Ḥājj Muḥammad (who also became qadi of Salé and khatib of the Grand Mosque). Ideally, the handful of exemplary men of each generation educated the next generation, passing on to their students the religious and intellectual ideas that they themselves had been taught. There is an idealized pattern—an unbroken chain of inherited knowledge and life style of which each of these men is seen as an identical link. The historiographer documents the excellence of his city by using the biographies of scholars and pious men in this way ([104]).

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIETY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SALÉ

For the century preceding what is usually considered the modern or colonial period, the documents at hand make it possible to construct a more vivid image of the people living in Salé and their way of life. Throughout the reign of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl (1671-1727), political rule in Morocco was relatively stable. This stability was guaranteed by the creation of a new army, known as the « Gīsh ᶜAbīd al-Bukhāri », the « army (cl. *jaysh*) of al-Bukhāri Slaves », composed of blacks from the Sudan. Many of these soldiers were settled in a specially constructed city, Mishraᶜ ar-Ramla, near the Sebou River between the new capital of Meknes and Salé. There alone, they numbered some 70,000 men. Others were garrisoned in casbahs, specifically built for them outside of cities and

(104) *I.W.*, pp. 90-116. Access to knowledge is not, however, limited to any single particular group. Although certain old urban families have an unequal share of learned men in their annals, these are spiritual or cultural geneologies, not physical ones.

along the principal routes (105). Such a fortification was built several miles north of Salé, near the mausoleum of Sīdī Mūsā, and was called « Qaṣbāt Gnāwa », the Fort of Guineans (106). Various reasons for stationing these troops there have been given: to guard the port of the Bou Regreg against attack by Christian ships; to guard the route to Mehdiya and protect Salé from incursions by the surrounding tribes; and, finally and most significantly, to make sure that there was no revolt in Salé against the dynasty (107). As long as Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl lived, Salé's submission to the dynasty and its formidable army was absolute. What Ibn ᶜAlī calls the « pact (*ᶜahd*) of the people of Salé with the Sultan » remained unbroken.

There are, nevertheless, indications that the presence of the troops was unwelcome. The notables of Salé repeatedly protested to the Sultan against the depredations and vexations of these soldiers, and as a result some of them were obliged to leave the city in order to escape from the anger of the Sultan. But, on the whole, the Sultan had powerful allies in Salé, as shown by a letter dated 1137/1721 to aṭ-Ṭahīr Maᶜanīnū (probably Governor at the time) in which the Sultan directed Maᶜanīnū and the people of the city in general to take under their charge a group of female slaves (*imā'*). The Slawis were to educate these women, teach them to read, to have graceful manners, to sew, to cook, etc. The Sultan writes that he is sending them to Salé, because he has confidence in the people of the city. But he warns that if any of these girls should leave a house in an improper manner, the person responsible will be beheaded. The letter indicates that the population of Salé enjoyed a special relation with and were subject to the commands and powers of the Sultan (108).

(105) an-Nāṣiri (Casablanca edition), V. 9, p. 77. C. A. Julien, *op cit.*, II (Paris, 1961), 229ff.; IV, 26. The troops were called « ᶜabīd al-Bukhāri » after the sultan presented them with a volume of the Traditions of al-Bukhārī and told them that sultan and soldier were equally slaves of God and His law.

(106) It is first mentioned in 1712 in a decree from the Sultan confiscating the property of the Awlād Abū Qāᶜa, one of the important families of Salé. It is claimed that one of the members of the family had, as administrator of the Ḥabus of Salé, misappropriated a great deal of property. In any event, the Sultan confiscated their property and put it into *ḥabus* for the benefit of the « Qaṣbāt Gnāwa ».

(107) J. Caillé et J. Hainut, « La Qasba des Gnauoua », in *Hesp.*, XLII (1955), 27-65; *I.W.*, p. 37.

(108) The document is in the private library of ᶜAbd Allah aṣ-Ṣubīḥī, to whom I am grateful for much assistance.

A. *Urban Solidarity*

« When Mawlāy Ismāʿīl died in 1737 », Ibn ʿAlī relates, « there were great troubles and iniquities in Morocco. People were filled with fear of that familiar situation in which everyone acted without discipline, for their own gain and following their instincts » (109). The troops in the « Qaṣbāt Gnāwa » seem to have been especially disagreeable at this time in their behavior toward the people of Salé. Humiliations and injustices imposed upon the Slawis multiplied and eventually led to an uprising against the Sultan's forces.

The story connected with what is interpreted as a defense of the city against these troops centers around the protection of women's honor. It may be apocryphal, but its sociological interest is incontestable. We are told that one of the leaders (*zuʿamā*) of Salé, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fanīsh, while one day irrigating a vineyard of his outside the city, suddenly saw one of the soldier-slaves take hold of a respectable and honorable Slawi woman in order to carry her off to the Guinean fort. Seeing ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, she is said to have cried out: « How can you watch your women being carried off to degradations and abominations? If we were men and you women, such a humiliation would never take place! » ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq then ordered the soldier to leave the woman alone. Cursed and threatened in return, he killed the soldier and the woman returned safe and sound to her home.

The governor of Salé at that time was from the family of al-Ḥāfī (a relative of the savant mentioned above). ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq distrusted the man. When he returned to the city, he gathered a group of his acquaintances who were considered brave and courageous, and together they went as a delegation to the governor. Ordering the governor to remain in his house, they gathered arms, and set out for the Guinean fort. Meanwhile, the ʿAbīd, heard what had happened and fled. Thereupon, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq and his men set afire the fort, and everything in it was destroyed. When they returned to the city, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq became governor (110).

(109) *I.W.*, p. 36.

(110) *I.W.*, pp. 36-37; the material from the destroyed fortress was used to build up the fortifications along the walls of the city. The *ḥabus* property to the benefit of the fort was transferred to the endowment of the Sīdī Aḥmad Ḥajjī mosque.

The assumption of authority by ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq may be interpreted as an illustration of the solidarity of a part or all of the community in Salé. It shows that there were leaders within the city with strong enough backing to seize power during a critical period. The appointed representative of the central government, the governor, was only supported as long as he was able to protect the community and guarantee the preservation of its moral standards and ideals. When he could no longer do that, people of the city acted to protect their own interests. In this case the inviolability of women was more critical than obedience to the appointed authority. It appears that when the structure and enforcement of order failed in Salé, individuals spontaneously acted as a group to protect their interests.

B. *Local and Central Authority*

The historical event related above may reflect other aspects of society in Salé. The death of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl ushered in a period of great political unrest everywhere. The central government was no longer in control, soldiers were under no constraint of discipline, and the local governors had, as a result, no power on which to fall back. This meant that on the local scene authority was no longer stable. Within a city like Salé, all of the internal alliances could come into play and the strongest group could take over the city. In general, outside governmental forces were always a threat to Moroccan cities, leaving the population powerless and reluctant to contest the authority of a governor who could call on these forces. Salé's geographic situation, in particular, mitigated against insubordination in the face of a strong central power. But given the necessity and opportunity to act, there was an unexpected recalcitrance and sense of independence in the city.

Indeed, ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq soon declared Salé independent of the Sultan Mawlāy ᶜAbd Allah and ruled the city and its dependencies with his kinsmen and partisans (*ᶜashīra* and *ᶜaṣabīya*). When the pretender al-Mustādhī revolted against his brother in 1738, ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq received him at Salé and proclaimed him Sultan. This seems to have caused a serious breach in Salé, for some of the population, including the savant Aḥmad b. ᶜĀshir

al-Ḥāfī, fled to Rabat, where the population had remained faithful to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allah. For over a year al-Mustādhī laid seige to Rabat at the head of a contingent from the Banū Aḥsan, a confederation of tribes from the hinterland of Salé. Finally defeated, he fled before the troops of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allah. Still, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq refused to submit to the Sultan (111).

The ʿ*Abīd* troops formed by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had ceased to be a threat to Salé. Even their center at Mishraʿ ar-Ramla had been abandoned. The new military power in the area was the troops of the Banū Aḥsan and those from the Dukkāla. They were on good terms with Salé, and many of them came to settle there during this period, the Banū Aḥsan having destroyed the city of Mishraʿ ar-Ramla and carried off all of the beams and doors from there to sell in Salé . Many Jews also came to settle in Salé from the destroyed city (to which they continued to return on yearly pilgrimages [*ziyāra*] as late as the 1920's (112).

The independence of Salé under its governor ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Fanīsh lasted until 1766, when he was killed by the new Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah. During the first part of his reign the Sultan had left the governor alone, despite the fact that when stopping in Rabat during his father's reign, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq had closed the gates of Salé to him and refused to send the traditional delegation with gifts. The fall of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq came about through the intercession of the Znībar family at Salé, one of whose members had been killed by the governor. When they complained to the Sultan, he had ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq brought before him. The governor's action was judged unjust, and he was handed over to the Znībar family so that they might avenge the murder by their own hands.

(111) *I.W.*, p. 103; *V.T.*, II, 92ff.

(112) *K.I.*, IV, 81, 88ff.; an-Nāṣirī writes that Mishraʿ ar-Ramla had been a fantastic city with houses and castles unrivalled in the urban centers. A Jewish informant insisted that their Responsa literature shows that it was an important center of Jewish learning. Pilgrimages there would take place between Rosh Ha-Shana and Yom Ha-Qipūr (New Year's and the Day of Atonement) and their object would be clump of trees where a Jewish (?) saint called Qāḍī Ḥājja is buried. There is in Salé, right outside the gate called Bāb al-Khabbāz or Bāb Sīdī Bū Ḥājja, the mausoleum of a Muslim saint, Sīdī Bū-Ḥajja, sometimes called Qāḍī Ḥajja; it is said to have been visited by both Muslims and Jews. The connection is puzzling, although the phenomenon of both Jews and Muslims venerating the same saint is common in Morocco. Cf. L. Voinot, *Pèlerinages Judéo-Musulmans du Maroc* (Paris, 1948).

But, Ibn ᶜAlī reports, they were afraid of ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq because of the awe (*hayba*) in their hearts. The Sultan then had him killed in the presence of his accusers. The property of all of the Fanīsh family, over one hundred houses and parcels of land (all purportedly gained by extortion), was confiscated. An affidavit was drawn up in which it was stated that the Fanānsha (a plural for the name Fanīsh) had been proven to have violated the covenant of their protection (*baᶜda iᶜmāli 'l-mūjibāt bi-anna al-Fanānsha mukhraqū dh-dhimma*). The property of the Fanīsh family was sold to the Banū Aḥsan, and the Sultan sent all of them into exile. However, they soon returned to favor and regained their wealth (113).

Only eleven years later the son of ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq, aṭ-Ṭāhir, was the most prestigious admiral of the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allah (1757-1790) and was several times entrusted by him with important diplomatic missions. Sent to the court of Louis XVI in 1777, he signed the famous treaty by which the Sultan recognized the newly-won independence of the United States of America. The talents of the Fanīsh family were too valuable to be dismissed for long. Soon again, they are to be found manning the fortifications of Salé and other coastal cities as experts in artillery (114).

c. *The Decline of Trade*

Some historians see the marked decline in the prosperity of Salé during the 19th century as a consequence of the episode between the Sultan, Sīdī Muḥammad, and Salé's governor, ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq. The Sultan, it is said, punished Salé for its independence by constructing and developing the port

(113) *K.I.*, IV, 103ff.; *I.W.*, p. 103. Ibn ᶜAlī quotes a poem by a Znībar, lamenting the separation from his brothers, the teachers and scholars of Salé. He was, at that time, in exile in Rabat because of the ordeal that had struck his family at the hands of ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq (*miḥna aṣābat qabīlatahu min ᶜamīl Salā*), *ibid.*, p. 117.

(114) *V.T.*, I, 97; *K.I.*, IV, 103; an-Nāṣirī writes that they were appointed as the heads of artillerymen (*ṭabjīya*) in the various ports and given homes and property and high salaries, so that they soon again become quite rich and of the highest rank (*jāh*) in the Kingdom. One of them was again governor of Salé under Mawlāy ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān (1822-59).

of Mogador ([115]). There were, however, other more natural causes for Salé's decline, the first of which was the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. an-Nāṣirī has described the loss in life and property caused by the tidal wave that struck Salé ([116]). A longer lasting effect of the earthquake was that it increased the height of the sand bar of the river, thus making it impossible for ships, other than those of very light tonnage, to enter the port. Although piracy did continue for some time from Salé, it was very limited and no longer lucrative. A more important maritime activity was trade, but Rabat-Salé had become unsuited as a harbor for large merchant ships. The last attempt to sustain Salé's importance as a port was in 1767 when a master-builder was brought from Constantinople to restore the former arsenal of Dār aṣ-Ṣinā'a. He found that the improvements were impractical, that it would take twenty years and an extravagant sum of money to rebuild the arsenal. These factors, in addition to the Sultan's desire to have a port close enough to his capital at Marrakesh to control easily, were the main reasons for the demise of Salé's importance as a city of maritime commerce ([117]).

Pirate ships, it should be noted, continued to use the port until early into the 19th century. Indeed, in 1765 the French chose Salé as the object of a bombardment, in retaliation for the acts of pirates whose base of operations, in fact, was Larache. A witness to the bombardment described the heavy damage caused by the lancing of over four hundred shells during a three-day period. Nevertheless, Salé's historians insist that this « War of Salé » was a victory for their city. The victory is seen as a work of God, for a wind forced the French to leave the coast of Salé, and when they tried to bombard Larache, they were driven off by the artillery. Some eighty heads of Frenchmen killed in that battle were sent by the Sultan to be hung on the Ṣaqāla, the fort at the southwestern corner of Salé near the tomb of Sīdī Ben 'Āshir, perhaps to impress on the Slawis that the Sultan could still defend their coast ([118]).

(115) *V.T.*, I, 128.
(116) *K.I.*, IV, 128.
(117) *K.I.*, IV, 99ff.
(118) *Ibid.*

Slawis continued to act as ships' captains. A decree (*ẓahīr*) dated 1177/1763 appointed the « *mujāhid* » (warrior), the « *qabṭān* » (admiral), al-Ḥājj al-Hāshimī b. ar-Ra'īs (son of the captain) Aḥmad ᶜAwwād as admiral over all the ships of the « Two Banks » (119). Moroccan corsairs at sea in 1767-68 included three ᶜAwwāds, two Ṭrabūlsīs, a Ṣabūnjī, and a Turkī as ships' captains, all known family names in Salé still today (120). A *ẓahīr* dated 1188/1774 shows that these captains were under orders of and financed by the Sultan. Another, dated 1201/1786, offers evidence that these ships also engaged in peaceful trade, for Captain ᶜAbd as-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Faqīh ash-Sharīf (al-ᶜAlamī) as-Slawī, instructed not to carry on board wine or pork on the Mediterranean or the Atlantic and to see that all prayers are performed at their appointed times, is reminded that trade agreements with the Christians are to be scrupulously respected (121). Ibn ᶜAlī reports that Rabat and Salé continually had ships on the sea during the reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822) which would rob those of foreigners and return with great booty. When the pirates returned to port at Salé, there were celebrations in their honor (122). A Rabati historian of the turn of the 19th century relates that in 1222/1807 a ship captained by an ᶜAwwād sank in the port in view of all of the people of Salé, who had gone out in a procession to meet the returning corsairs (123).

At the end of the 19th century, there were 1121 artillerymen and sailors in Rabat and Salé, and they were considered inheritors of the old naval tradition. Ibn ᶜAlī believes that this heritage allowed the Slawis to defeat French ships in the « Battle of 1268/1851 ». This historical tradition of the city is called upon to bear witness to « the courage, bravery, strength, and pride of the people of Salé » (124).

(119) The ᶜAwwāds are one of the best known families in Salé ; the *ẓahīr* is in the hands of descendants of the admiral.

(120) C. Penz, *Journal du consulat général de France au Maroc (1767-85)* (Casablanca, 1943), pp. 97, 103, 126, 141.

(121) Glass plate photographs of these *ẓahīrs* are in the « Sāsī Collection », *A.G.R.*

(122) *I.W.*, p. 39.

(123) aḍ-Ḍuᶜayf, *Ta'rīkh aḍ-Ḍuᶜayf*, *A.G.R.* Ms. No. 666, p. 466; the author also names other people from Salé who manned ships at that time.

(124) *I.W.*, p. 39. The bombardment of Salé in 1851 was, in fact, a disaster for the city.

Yet the decadence of piracy and maritime trade at Salé was unmistakable and largely due to external causes. In 1817 Mawlāy Sulaymān agreed with the European powers to disarm his war vessels and formally put an end to piracy. He was « readily persuaded » to take this measure, according to a British source, by hearing of the troubles which had befallen Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, and by the growing strength of the British at Gibraltar ([125]). Moreover, the declared policy of that Sultan was to protect the integrity of the country by restricting the contacts of his subjects with the Christian powers. Foreign commerce was forbidden except at Tangier and Mogador, where it was largely monopolized by the Makhzen, usually through the intermediary of Jewish merchants ([126]). Morocco's navy ceased to exist. Miège calls this final repression of piracy « Morocco's return to its territorial vocation », and notes that except for a last, brief attempt to return to piracy, Morocco had completely turned in upon itself. In his words, « At the moment when France was to intervene in Algeria, irretrievably undoing the political equilibrium in the Western Mediterranean, Morocco was more than ever a closed world on the edge of a Europe just beginning the industrial revolution. Every passing year accentuated its self-enclosure » ([127]).

Already at the close of the 18th century, Salé's mercantile trade had dwindled to almost nothing. At the height of English interests, in 1733, there had been some one hundred English commercial houses in Rabat-Salé, and export-import trade with both England and Holland had been widespread. In 1781 all of the European merchants of the port were ordered by the Sultan to go to Mogador, and by 1797 even the French consul, the last European to live in Rabat, had moved to Tangier ([128]).

Overland trade from Salé also declined remarkably. Although it is difficult to determine the sequence of this decline, the taking of Algiers in 1830 was undoubtedly the major factor. Late into the 18th century, an

(125) Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 38ff.

(126) A decree issued in 1816 forbade all Musim subjects to travel to Europe and authorized only the Jews—under certain circumstances—to go there for commerce. Cf. Levé and P. Fournel (eds.), *Les Traités du Maroc*, I (Paris, 1904), p. 505.

(127) *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, II, 33ff.

(128) *V.T.*, I, 168ff.

annual caravan departing from Salé had carried goods across the North African coast as far as Egypt. Comprising approximately one hundred camels, its merchants traded in gold, cinnabar, sequins, cloth and clothes, sculptured wood, and other commodities. The caravans would work their way through the cities of Algeria, and indeed in Algiers there was for this reason a street called « People of Salé ». In Tunis, the arrival of the caravan three weeks before the commencement of the fast month of Ramaḍān was an important boon to commerce, its sales there amounting to some 100,000 stirling pounds. From Tunis ,the Slawi traders leased boats to carry to Alexandria and the Orient those goods which had not been sold ([129]).

D. *Crises: The European Threat and Internal Conflict*

« ya sa'alnī ᶜala l-qarn it-tletash kḥel mafihi nāra; l-kiswa kiswat l-mselmīn, u-l-qlūb qlūb in-nṣāra. »	O you who ask me about the 13th century (A.H., 1786-1882 A.D.); it is dark, there is no light in it; the clothes are clothes of Muslims, (but) the hearts, hearts of Christians ([130]).

Periods of political crisis in Salé during which authority was at a minimum or non-existent and violence uncontrolled were rare. When conflicts arose, they were solved by set rules and procedures of arbitration and at the cost of minimal structural change. Several examples can be cited here to illustrate mechanisms that came into play in the resolutions of crisis situations. The reign of Mawlāy Yazīd b. Muḥammad (1790-92) was an extremely troubled period throughout Morocco. The tribes upon which the central government depended for military backing were in rebellion because of the government's inability to pay them. In 1790 the rural tribe of Sabbāḥ had devastated the area around Rabat and settled into the

(129) M. Emerit, « A propos de la caravane de Salé », in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, N. 11'(1955), 466-67.

(130) Quoted in *S.I.*, 2ᵉ Sér., II, 166, n. 1. This quatrain in colloquial Arabic is attributed to a famous folk poet Sīdī ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān, « al-Majdhūb » (« the possessed »). Perhaps not authentic, since the poet died at the end of the 16th century, the lines reflect, nevertheless, a fear that became widespread in 19th century Morocco.

necropolis of Chellah. The Sultan gathered an army at Salé under the governor of the city, Abū ʿAzā' al-Qasṭālī. These troops, made up of rural people from another tribe, proceeded to sac the necropolis. The population of Rabat and Salé, although they had been protected, were enraged; they feared these troops and considered al-Qasṭālī responsible for the sacrilegous pillage of Chella. Five years later the new Sultan, Mawlāy Sulaymān, responded to their complaints by having the governor hung at one of the gates of Salé ([131]).

For the most part, Mawlāy Yazīd had directed the revendications of the rural tribal soldiers against the Jews of the various cities. Thus, in 1790 the Jews of Fez were chased out of their quarter, the Millāḥ, and their houses and synagogues destroyed. During the same period the Jews of Tetouan, Rabat, and Salé were also victims of the pillages of tribes ([132]). A tale current among the Jews of Salé offers a different explanation of these attacks. It is said that the Sultan had an account to settle with the Jewish community because, during the reign of his father, he had failed in an attempt to kidnap one of their women. Thus, when Mawlāy Yazīd became Sultan, he had all of the Jewish quarters of Morocco attacked. However, the story emphasizes the lack of violence due to the special status of the Jews in Salé and Rabat. The governors of Rabat and Salé are said to have intervened on behalf of « their » Jews, and the Sultan spared them at the cost of 14,000 *mithqāl* for their rabbis and 600,000 *mithqāl* for the rest of the community.

Unrest in and around Rabat and Salé, during the early years of the reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822) finally led to the removal of the Jewish communities of these two cities from their homes which had been interspersed among their Muslim neighbors. In 1805 the Jews of Tetouan, Rabat, and Salé were moved into new Millāḥs built especially for their settlement. In Salé somewhere around 2,000 people, or ten per cent of the population, seem to have been involved ([133]).

(131) Lévi-Provençal-Basset, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

(132) Cf. the document « Yahas Fès » in *Hesp.*, XIX (1934), p. 88.

(133) *V.T.*, I, 102; the combined Jewish populations of Rabat-Salé during the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd is given as 6,000. The Jewish population of Salé at the turn of this century was approximately 2,000 of a total of 20,000.

Ibn ᶜAlī reports that the reason that the Jews of Rabat and Salé were removed to quarters beyond the built-up areas of the Muslims was the following: the Jews used to live among the Muslims who protected them from the attacks of the rural people. However, the Muslims became loathe (*sa'imū*) to live next to the Jews, to mix with those of a conflicting religion who by their natural disposition were corrupt (*ᶜafūna*) and contemptuous of Islam and Muslims. Some of the clever people of Salé are said to have duped their Jewish neighbors by breaking a bottle of wine in front of a door of one of the mosques in the Jewish quarter. This was done during the special prayers performed during the night of Ramaḍān. When the wine had been spilled, those who had done it shouted, « Oh, Community of Islam (*maᶜshar al-Islām*), see what the Jew has done in our mosques; he has spilled out wine and made the prayer illicit for us ». Then they drew up a document as evidence and sent it to Mawlāy Sulaymān. When the Sultan learned of this, he ordered that the Jews be separated from the Muslims in new quarters, to be built in the former arsenal of Salé and outside the city of Rabat. Ibn ᶜAlī concludes, « God gave the Muslims deliverance from the cohabitation of the Jews among them. That was in the year 1222/1807. This is further proof of the great zeal of the people of Salé » (134).

One suspects that the motives for moving the Jewish population of Salé emanated from the Sultan rather than from the Muslim population. On the other hand, as Ibn ᶜAlī's remarks show, there was a distaste toward the Jews that could easily be manipulated by those holding power in the community. During an unstable period, and when the usefulness of Slawi and Rabati Jews as intermediaries in commerce had diminished, the defense of the Jews by their Muslim neighbors appears to have become more burdensome. Moreover, the Muslim population of Salé had to protect itself against a rebellious army. By enclosing the Jews in a separate walled-in quarter, they could be more easily defended. The action of the Sultan and

(134) *I.W.*, p. 40. An act dated 15.5.1806, containing the signature of thirty-one witnesses and the qadi Muḥammad al-Hāshimī Aṭūbī, asks that the Jews be removed from the old Millāḥ because they have caused the mosques in that quarter to be neglected and profaned. Another act, 31.7.1807, authorizes the construction of a new Millāḥ. Cf. J. Goulven, « Esquisse historique des mellahs de Rabat-Salé » in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie du Maroc*, V, III (1922), pp. 29-31.

the Muslim community of Salé was not the consequence of anarchy, nor even persecution. Muslims considered the Jews their « protected people » (*ahl 'dh-dhimma*), and many Moroccan rulers had found that the safest way to protect their Jews was to have them live in a separate quarter. The segregation of the Jews into a Millāḥ ([135]), a separate Jewish quarter, had taken place as early as the 14th century in Fez; but some cities continued to have Jewish dwellings interspersed with those of Muslims in the center of the city until much later ([136]). Salé's conformity to this pattern—the separation of its Jews into a separate quarter—is both a reflection of the city's decline as a center of trade and of its growing lack of security in the face of the surrounding rural peoples. Some of the Jews of Salé, at least the most economically active among them, had heeded the call of the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad to settle in Mogador. Among those who remained in the city, some Jewish families refused to leave their homes, preferring to convert to Islam rather than accept their displacement ([137]). It is likely that some of the families in Salé who are thought (by the consensus of the population) to be of Jewish origin converted to Islam at this time.

These were, indeed, very hard times in the annals of the two cities of the Bou Regreg. The plague that struck Morocco in 1799 was particularly lethal at Rabat (and certainly at Salé), where *two-thirds* of the population is said to have died ([138]). Ibn ᶜAlī, in one of his biographies, tells us that in 1232/1816 there was a terrible drought in Salé, such that the prayer for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqā*) was recited on five separate occasions ([139]). Plague struck again in 1818. A decree from the Sultan dated 1240/1824 shows that droughts were recurrent, the countryside was unable to produce enough food to feed the population, and necessary foodstuffs had to be imported from Europe. The decree, addressed to the populations of Rabat

(135) Cf. the article « Millāḥ » in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* in which G. Colin explains the origin of this term which has so often been misinterpreted in writings about Morocco. It is shown that the first quarter so named was on a former salt marsh (*millāḥ*) of Fez. Its name has then no connection with the supposed abasement of Jews as « salters of heads ».

(136) Indeed, the case is still so in Sefrou today.

(137) Cf. the introduction to L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat* (Paris, 1931) for the linguistic evidence for conversion of the Jews at this time.

(138) J. Caillé, *La Petite histoire de Rabat* (Casablanca, n.d.), p. 82.

(139) *I.W.*, p. 129.

and Salé, instructs them to appoint two honest merchants with private resources, the Slawi al-Ḥājj al^cArabī Ma^canīnū and the Rabati Ū Zuhra to handle the importation: « People are in an extremely difficult economic situation which is compounded by the rapacious merchants who have monopolized trade. The new merchants are to sell the wheat that they import at a profit of only one *dirhām* on each *mithqāl* in order that the people who are starving, rich or poor (*al-khāṣṣ wa-'l-^cāmm*), will be able to buy the wheat without distinction » ([140]).

Two years earlier when Mawlāy Sulaymān died (1822), there had been drought, and Salé had been seriously menaced by the surrounding rural peoples. The rural people robbed along the roads, plundered crops, and stole animals in the pastures that belonged to the people of Salé. The governor of the city was unable to do anything to put a stop to this. In a situation that much resembles the earlier rise to power of ^cAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Fannīsh, one of the leaders and notables of the city (*min zu^camā'ihā wa-a^cyān ahlihā*), Aḥmad Znībar, organized the defense of Salé. He was a man who had contacts with the rural people (*al-bawādī*) and the rabble of the city (*ghawghā 'l-ḥāḍira*), those upon whom the growth and distribution of wheat depended. During this period, there was a great deal of scarcity and prices were high. One day a caravan on the way to Salé was plundered of its goods and pack animals. When word reached the governor of the city, he was unable to do anything. Aḥmad Znībar formed a group of some two hundred archers from within the city, and that night they attacked the *duwwār* (village) outside Salé from whence the robbers had come. All of the village people's tents were dismantled, and they were marched off to the cemetery of Sīdī b. ^cĀshir within the walls of Salé and forced to camp there. Word was sent to their kinsmen, instructing them to return everything that had been stolen in order that the hostages be set free. The plunder was returned, and the rural people were released with the warning that further acts would be similarly dealt with. Ibn ^cAlī, who reports this event, ends his account by saying, « Between the people of Salé and the neighboring tribes things happened that are astonishing, but this example sufficies! » ([141]).

(140) « Sāsī Collection », *A.N.R.*
(141) *I.W.*, pp. 38ff.

E. *The Persistance of an Image*

As the above examples indicate, the political structure of Salé and the order and cohesiveness of its population did not radically change during this period of unrest and clear decline in the city's economic life. Neither did Salé's reputation as a center of learning lose its force or justification. For the first quarter of the 19th century Ibn ᶜAlī gives the biographies of seven men famous for their learning. The first of these was the jurist ᶜAbd as-Salām b. ᶜAbd Allah Ḥarakāt (d. 1218/1805), whose works are still in manuscript form in some of the family libraries of Salé (142). Ḥarakāt was among the ᶜulama and notables of Salé, having studied with the best teachers of his generation in Fez. Introduced to Sufism (*akhadha aṭ-ṭarīqa*) by the « pole » of his age, Mawlāy Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣaqālī of Fez, he also wrote several important works on Islamic law and was said to have been in close contact with the Sultan, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allah (143).

The last biography that Ibn ᶜAlī gives for this period is that of the qadi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jarīrī. His reputation and the veneration with which he was held by subsequent generations is shown by the many idealized and stereotyped qualities that his biographer enumerates for him: « the learned savant, judge, noble, refined, master of all sciences, deep of understanding, famous, most known of notables, and unique among the brilliant minds in his precision (in grammar), composition, and command (of language). He was a beneficial teacher, a man exacting in all of the sciences, a master (*lahu al-yad aṭ-ṭawīla*) in Rhetoric, Jurisprudence, the Traditions and the Commentaries. » He also knew the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī by heart, as well as other literary works. His handwriting was beautiful (*rā'iq*). When his friend and contemporary in Salé, the jurist Muḥammad al-Mīr, died while teaching the Quran, al-Jarīrī continued from the verse where he had stopped, and when he opened the Commentary to that verse, all of his students cried out of joy. His *Majlis* (circle of students) was attended by assemblies of the rich and the poor from Rabat and Salé (144).

(142) I was able to consult one of these, a collection of *fatwa* in the library of ᶜAbd Allah aṣ-Ṣubīḥī.

(143) *I.W.*, p. 124.

(144) *I.W.*, pp. 130ff.

The persistence of the image of Salé as a center of Muslim intellectual life, a city whose generations had inherited the knowledge of the past in an unbroken chain, continued throughout the critical period before 1830, just as it was to persist during the next century thereafter. Along with this understandable pride in their intellectual heritage, the Slawis, with much less justification, continued to feel confident of their military superiority. Their confidence is difficult to appreciate, given the balance of power that existed between the lands of North Africa and the omnipresent spread of Europe as a colonial power. In 1243/1827 the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān again authorized the captains of Rabat and Salé to take to the sea and pursue the tradition of the *Jihād* along the coasts of Morocco and its European neighbors. One of those ships succeeded in forcing some of the ships of Austria into the port of the Bou Regreg. The response was not long in coming: in 1245/1829 six Austrian cruisers laid seige to the port of Larache whose ships had also participated in the attacks against them. As a result of this reprisal, the Sultan decided to renounce all maritime expeditions. With what seems in retrospect naive understatement, an-Nāṣiri writes: « It was exactly at that moment that the power of the Europeans began, when their number as well as their naval forces grew ... Finally, the taking of Algiers by the French confirmed the reality of these fears. » [145]

(145) *K.I.*, IV, 183ff.

CONCLUSION

A HISTORICAL PROFILE OF SALÉ

On the basis of the compendium history presented above, what are the general, persistent and accumulative features of Salé and its past? Foremost among the characteristics of the city was its favorable situation along the coast; it was a port city with a safe harbor on the Atlantic Ocean and the mouth of the Bou Regreg River. Because of its site, Salé was a maritime center of ocean commerce to and from which the trading empires, states and cities of the Mediterranean and the northern Atlantic carried manufactured goods and raw materials. As a port, it had certain distinctive features. Ports are, if one may paraphrase F. Braudel, by nature crossroads of land and sea routes. Their geographical position along crossroads gives them their importance. They engulf, stop, accumulate, and then give up what their routes have carried to them and what they send back by these routes ([146]).

The routes that led to and from Salé stretched into the western Sudan, across North Africa, up to the Mediterranean. Salé became during the Islamic period a market city for overland trade, as well as a port. Its economic life depended on commerce—imports and exports and the revenue in taxes and capital that accrued from them. The historians who visited Salé between the 12th and 17th centuries tell us that it was a thriving city with a money exchange, wealth, a high standard of living. The luxuries and the refined civilization that they describe depended on a fairly high degree of specialization in the manufacture of goods, a variety of crafts, a finesse of craftsmanship. Ibn Khaldūn, whose conception of urban life is closely tied to his own intimate experience of fourteenth century Moroccan cities, noted that this luxury and specialization of labor

(146) *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1948), pp. 260ff.

distinguished city from village. For him, urban culture, meant the adoption of diversified luxuries and the development of crafts that lended elegance and refinement to men's lives (147).

As a market for goods and for labor Salé attracted newcomers—Berbers from throughout North Africa, surrounding Arab tribesmen, Jews, and the urbanized populations of cities of Spain and North Africa. Early in its history, Salé is described as a city which combines urban and rural characteristics (*al-badāwa wa-'l-ḥaḍāra*), with quarters that reflect the divergent origins of its inhabitants. Some of those who came from rural areas continued to work as agricultural workers, for the city was surrounded by its own grazing lands and fertile fields and within it were numerous gardens.

Salé attracted people to it for another less tangible reason: since Roman times it had been a frontier area. Under Islam, at least during the early centuries, the area of the Bou Regreg was a *ribāṭ*—a camp for the mobilization of soldiers, and the river served as the frontier for the holy war against heretics. Later the city of Rabat was founded to mobilize troops for the invasion of Spain. And later still, pirates settled in the Three Republics of the Bou Regreg, and organized attacks on the high seas and the coasts of Europe as a continuation of the holy war. From seventeenth century Salé, the only coastal city not taken by the Spanish or Portuguese, the defense of the country was organized by the famous holy fighter, al-ʿAyyāshī, who had his home base there.

Intimately connected with the history and fame of Salé as a center of military power was its reputation as a holy city. The war was a holy war (*jihād*). But, it should be remembered, a *ribāṭ* was not only a garrison for soldiers. It was also a monastery, a place for retreat and religious reflection. Salé was considered a refuge for aesthetes and scholars, and its earliest saints were individuals of mystical and religious learning. They were extremely pious, other worldly, blessed men whom people visited in order to receive their blessings and to learn from them. One of Morocco's most famous warrior-saint heroes, al-ʿAyyāshī, was a disciple of the patron

(147) *An Introduction to History, the Muqaddima,* tr. by F. Rosenthal, abridged and edited by N. J. Dawood (London, 1967), pp. 263ff. On Ibn Khaldun's idea of the city, see M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy of History* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 209ff.

saint of Salé, Sīdī ʿAbd Allah b. Ḥasūn, a man who had come to Salé to seek tranquility, to escape from the upheaval of other places (148). The legend told in relation to Ibn Ḥassūn's arrival to Salé portrays it as a city filled with saints. In the legend, all of these saints, the living and the dead, meet the newcomer and inform him that their city has no need of additional holy men. Only after convincing them of his special blessedness is he appointed « head of the saints » of Salé.

These personages who lived in Salé made it famous. Thus, the dynastic rulers of Morocco favored Salé, often making it—or Rabat across the river—their summer residence. The Sultans built monuments in Salé: *madrasas*, mosques, *zāwiyas*, cupolas to its saints. The population also perpetuated and sometimes created the fame of its saints by making endowments for the construction and upkeep of tombs, organizing fairs and festivals to honor and respect these ancestors, and to venerate their memories. The people of Salé actively shared in the creation of their own legendary history and their historical image.

Salé did not become famous solely as a holy city of saints, for it was even better known as a center of classical, orthodox, religious learning. Students were attracted there by the best teachers of successive generations, and they made it a city of students, hostels, fairs, books of quality and quantity, a meeting place of scholarly bent friends and confidants. Salé was a center of religious and intellectual life. Each generation had men recognized for their piety and learning. Knowledge was said to descend in an unbroken chain within certain families and groups of the population of the city.

A sentiment of military, pious, scholarly, ethical and moral excellence was a dominant characteristic of the Slawis' self-image. The legendary refoundation of the city by a scholar saint of Andalusian origin implicitly emphasized Salé's identify as an Islamic metropolis with a highly refined urban culture. Descendants of the founder, those still alive in Salé today and those with venerated tombs there, were considered a *bayt*—a glorious, esteemed, noble « House ». Such a House represented an ideal: people

(148) Tranquility is in the view of Ibn Khaldūn the second motive (following luxury) that creates a city.

who belonged by birthright to an old, established family and who had distinguished themselves generation after generation. By analogy, Salé considered their community as a family—« ahl Salā »—which still possessed the attributes of the city's founder.

This conception of the history of Salé and its inhabitants was coherent, both in the way in which people viewed themselves and in the way in which they were seen by others—detractors as well as flatterers. Muslims expelled from Spain early in the 17th century had not been allowed to settle in Salé, at least not *en masse*, because they lacked certain qualities considered as « basic qualifications » for settlement and assimilation there. The Slawis saw themselves as « real » Muslims, to the exclusion of their neighbors, while others praised them for the excellence of their city or denigrated them for the excess of their zeal. What is crucial is that the image of the city's « personality » had rather clear lines of definition that were to the best of our knowledge accepted by its inhabitants from within, and by observers from without.

The important historical events in the life of Salé were interpreted in terms of this image: autonomy and independence, unity and consensus, fearlessness and pride, piety and decency. It was an image that served a useful purpose, securing for the Slawis advantageous economic and political roles. Alongside the ever-ready self view and the molding of historical facts to fit and refine it, the Slawis pragmatically realized that prosperity would most likely come from cooperation with the central power and that submission to it usually provided the best guarantee of security and tranquility.

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON SALÉ'S HISTORIANS

The major sources of written documentation for this study have been the historical works of two 19th century historians who were native sons of Salé. Some of the principal manifestations of continuity in the self-image of Salé's inhabitants during a century of great instability and change were vividly and articulately recorded in these men's works and in their own personal lives. Because of the lack of a large quantity of personal documents, it was necessary to rely to a large extent on the material and viewpoints presented by these professional historians, both of whom were scholars in the religious sciences, government functionaries, and highly respected personages in Salé. The focus of this study, then, was influenced by the vantage points of a particular segment of the Slawi population. Thus, it should be kept in mind that these sources reflect the tastes, self-image, and world view of educated men in 19th century Salé—the type of men who embodied in their work and in their lives the social and cultural ideals of the urban elite. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made throughout this study to critically evaluate all source materials and to suggest that neither the social structure nor the cultural values of Salé were as homogeneous as these historians would seem to indicate. It is appropriate in concluding this study to record some further information about these two local historians.

The compendium history of Morocco by Aḥmad b. Khālid an-Nāṣirī (d. 1897) entitled *Kitāb al-istiqṣā fī akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (*A Thorough Examination of the History of the Dynasties of the Far West*) was first published at the expense of the author in Cairo in 1894. A second edition with additional notes and comments and preceded by a biography of the author was edited by an-Nāṣirī's sons, Maḥammad and Jaᶜafar, and appeared in nine volumes in a Casablanca edition of 1954-56. A French translation of all but a part of the second volume of the original edition appeared in *Archives Marocaines,* volumes IX (1906), X (1907), XXX (1923), XXXI (1925), XXXII (1927), XXXIII (1934), XXXIV (1936).

A summary of the biography of the author has been given in a recent article (149). It is based on the work of his sons and on the material presented by E. Levi-Provençal in his thesis, *Les historiens des chorfa. Essais sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du* XVIe *au* XXe *siècle*, published in Paris in 1920. Levi-Provençal has discussed the education and works of an-Nāṣirī and commented on and analyzed in detail the style, sources, and historical value of the *K.I.* He has pointed out that on the whole the *K.I.* was a compilation from earlier historians, but as such it did succeed in bringing together in one text information on the political history of Morocco from a variety of early chronicles and biographies. However, an-Nāṣirī's material on Salé forms a monograph within the general history, and it often contains original information, both written and oral (150). Several important manuscripts by an-Nāṣirī on the Marinids and on the religious orders of the 19th century remain unedited and in the possession of his sons in Salé. It is hoped that they will one day soon be made available to students of Moroccan history and that a full-scale study of the life and work of this important historian will be undertaken.

The second historian, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī ad-Dukkālī (d. 1945), wrote several important studies on Salé, as well as on other subjects, but none of his works have been published. He was a student of an-Nāṣirī's and, in fact, wrote a biography of his teacher (151). The most complete biographical material and list of works of Ibn ᶜAlī appeared in an obituary notice in the newspaper *as-Saᶜāda* (Number 6470, 22 Shaᶜbān 1364/August 1, 1945). Ibn ᶜAlī was born in Salé in 1868 and received a traditional religious education with the best-known teachers of his time in Salé, Ibrāhīm b. al-Faqīh al-Jarīrī, ᶜAbd Allah b. Khaḍrā', Aḥmad b. Khālid an-Nāṣirī, and Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh al-Jarīrī. Later, in 1885, he continued his studies in Fez at the Qarawīyin under Jaᶜfar al-Kattānī and the other famous teachers there at that time. Ibn ᶜAlī returned to Salé in 1890 and began

(149) K. Brown, « Portrait d'un savant marocain au XIXe siècle » in *B.E.S.M.*, octobre, 1971.

(150) See especially pp. 366-67. Lévi-Provençal's evaluation of an-Nāṣirī may be found on pp. 350-68, 396-99. On the faults of the *K.I.*, see R. Ricard, « Les ravages de l'Istiqsa », *Hespéris*, XVIII (1956), pp. 201-2.

(151) *Takhlīd al-ma'āthir wa-tashyīd al-mafākhir bi-tarjamat ash-shaykh Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Nāṣir.* It is mentioned by Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, p. 351, but I was unable to find its traces.

teaching in a Quranic school. Seven years later he became an *ᶜadil* in Salé, and in 1897 he performed that same function in the port of Tangier. Back in Salé in 1902 he became a secretary to the pasha ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜīd, and he continued at that post under aṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣubīḥī in 1905. Two years later he became a secretary to ᶜAbd al-Hādī Znībar at the Treasury of the Makhzen in Marrakesh. He served from 1910 as a secretary in the Makhzen, under Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-Ḥafīẓ at Fez, and under Mawlāy Yūsuf in Rabat. During the Protectorate period, Ibn ᶜAlī was considered the official historian of the Makhzen and his works were numerous and varied.

The eulogy for Ibn ᶜAlī mentions some fifteen works by the historian. The most important of these was a four-volume study of the population of Salé and Rabat entitled *Adwāḥ al-bustān fī akhbār al-ᶜudwatayn waman daraj bihumā min al-aᶜyān* (« The Paths of the Garden: the History of the Two Banks and the Notables who Lived in Them »), also mentioned under the name *al-Ḥadā'iq* (« The Gardens »). Although no effort was spared to locate this book, its whereabouts, much to my disappointment and frustration, were never discovered. However, a copybook of Ibn ᶜAlī's found in the Kattānī Collection of the A.G.R. (No. 1264) contained some notes for this later work which were of value.

The works of Ibn ᶜAlī that were located and fully exploited in the present study were the following: 1) *al-itḥāf al-wajīz bi-akhbār al-ᶜudwatayn* (« The Succinct Presentation of the History of the Two Banks »), dated 1895 (?) and composed of 131 pages. Three copies of this work are in the A.G.R.: Numbers D1320 and D42, and, in the Kattānī Collection, 2333 [152]. Inasmuch as there seemed to be no differences in the texts of these copies, the first named was used rather than the others because of the relative clarity of the copyist's handwriting. In a letter by Ibn ᶜAlī he characterized the contents of the book as a study of the Two Banks of Salé: « a geographical, scientific, moral, and historical description concerning its mosques, schools, lodges, walls, citadels, markets, and the affairs of its people; the excellent qualities of manufacturing, crafts, and

(152) The Kattānī Collection (*Maktabat al-Kattānīya*) is the confiscated library of ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, which is housed and separately catalogued in the A.G.R.

professions; the moral qualities and customs of the people and the biographies of many of its ᶜulama, pious men, and kings. I presented it as a gift to Mawlāy ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz in the yea 1895. (?) It pleased him, and he rewarded me for it with one hundred réals, a suit of clothing, and a decree of honor, respect, and praise. » (153) This work is based to a large extent on material that was in the private possession of the author and on first-hand knowledge gathered in Salé, a good deal of it, evidently, from conversation with his contemporaries. It suffers from an idealization of the past, and, as Ibn ᶜAlī himself admits, from the duty of the historian (in the Moroccan tradition) to not take the names of the dead in vain. Nevertheless, his work gives more information about life in 19th century Salé than any other available source, and in some ways, as has been shown, it is a personal document of abiding interest.

2) *Itḥāf ashraf al-malā bi-baᶜḍ akhbār ar-Ribāṭ wa-Salā* (« A Presentation of the Most Eminent of the Notables: A Part of the History of Rabat and Salé »), dated 1912, 2810 verses in 134 pages. There are two copies of this work in the A.G.R.: Numbers D 11 and, in the Kattānī Collection, 466. It is a verse chronicle (*urjūza*) in the meter of *rajaz*. The rhyme is not the same throughout, but the two hemistiches of each verse rhyme with each other. It was a form that had been very popular in Morocco among grammarians, teachers of the religious sciences, and historians (154). This work is less interesting and valuable than the one mentioned above, but it does—given its limitations—offer some information about life in Salé and give a measure of insight into the thoughts of the author. Ibn ᶜAlī states at the end of the poem that he wrote it as an answer to the 14th century writer and vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who had maligned Salé in comparing it to Malaga. Ibn ᶜAlī complains that the Vizier wrote things to hurt Salé and that in so doing he committed an error and did not respect the rules of politeness, for he was only seeking through his work the

(153) Quoted in ᶜAbd as-Salām b. Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (2d éd,; Casablanca, 1960), I, 28. The date 1895 seems too early. Indeed ad-Dukkālī was only seventeen at that time. There is evidence within the ms. that suggests a date of composition closer to 1907 when the reign of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ended.

(154) Cf. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, p. 42, n. 1: « The fertile imagination of pseudo-poets who believed that they were writing history in verse has left us many of these productions, thankfully all very short, for they are as poor in subject matter as in form. »

pleasure of the Spanish Sultan. Thus, Ibn ᶜAlī wrote his poem to disprove Ibn al-Khaṭīb and to show the real nature of Salé. The objects of the author in writing this work point to its disadvantages, for it seeks to extol rather than describe, and yet for the study of the history of Salé it has the merit of presenting a conceptualization of the city's past and of its inherent characteristics.

Other words by Ibn ᶜAlī that are mentioned in his biography, but which were not found, are the following: a work on Chella ordered by the French orientalist Captain Dozy (?). (According to the obituary notice the study was read to Lyautey, and he was so impressed that he had it translated into French and awarded Ibn ᶜAlī a prize.); a work on inflections in Arabic grammar; a study on the minting of coins in Moroccan history; a description of the Tower of Ḥassān; a short history of Morocco through the ages; a study of family names and origins among the population of the Two Banks; a work on the Islamic institution of the *ḥisba* (the jurisdiction over morals and economic practices and organization); an historical study of the conditions of the Jews in Morocco; a study of the Banū Waṭṭās (Wattasids—a Berber dynasty of the 15th-16th centuries); a poem about chess in some 260 verses; a *maqāma*—a literary work in rhythmic prose.

In the long *urjūza* (rhymed prose poem) dedicated by Ibn ᶜAlī in 1912 to the new Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf, there is one long passage that is particularly interesting as a reflection of the views of history of a traditionally educated Moroccan scholar. A note in the margin of the manuscript explains that the passage, quoted here in its entirety, is concerned with the « Civilization of Europe in Our Present Generation ».

> The biographer said: here is a useful piece of advice for you,
> Which is neither verbiage nor extraneous.
> An insight for whomever wants to see,
> The state of the non-Muslim among mankind.
> For this generation is a generation of knowledge,
> Profound in its knowledge of the state of the world.
> The nations of the West have performed their work well,
> And made people have a share in what is small and great.
> They possess manifest power,
> And have given the world its prosperity.

They have perfected their knowledge of things,
And have made prosperity grow.
They have honored the customs of most men,
In every land without oversight.
They have freed the mind from its bonds,
And opened up thought in every way.
They have taken upon themselves the traits of science and [knowledge,
And of skill at every matter.
They have undeniably taken the lead,
For they have attained the knowledge of prosperity.
They have reached the most distant lands,
And exchange talk by telegraph and wires.
They swim in sea and air alike,
And descend under the surface of water.
They have discovered the wonders of the universe,
And invented the most astonishing things possible.
They have grasped the reins of governing,
And ruled with the authority of one who knows.
If the East had gone the way of the West,
It would have attained success in every domain.
But it neglected the knowledge
With which it had been endowed, and it remained idle.
Was not the East wonderous,
In its science, power, and wealth?
Was not the East the locus of glory,
In everything that it attained by its efforts?
Did it not govern the affairs of the world
In the East and the West with the greatest ability?
Was not the knowledge of Islam
Adored by the rest of the peoples?
Was it not a model of the means for advancement,
And a sign of dignity that appeared upon the brow?
Now say in summary a word of truth:
Whoever exerts himself, reaches the highest peak.
And whoever flags has forfeited glory,
Neglected himself and thereby overstepped all bounds ([155]).

(155) *I.A.*, pp. 85-86. A photostat of the original text follows.

ومنها الآثار والعلوم
ومن ذخيرة تجل في ثمان
فالمسجد الجامع وشاهر بابه
تبصره تمن بيراه يرى
بأن هذا المحل جليل معهد
وأن المعرب أحكموا العمل
واستملكوا أبدا من مغربه
ولا تغنوا معهد الأشياء
وشيدوا الهيكل وحلى الناس
وأطلقوا العقل من العقال
واتسموا بالعلم والعرفان
وأبرزوا المصنوع كي تنكران
فوصلوا الشامخ من أفكار
وسبحوا بالبحر والفضاء
واكتشفوا غرائب الأكوان
وملكوا أزمة التدريب
ولو مشى الشرق كمشي الغرب
لأصبح أهل ما فرضوكا
ألم يك الشرق عجيب الحال
ألم يك الشرق مناط المجد
ألم يكن يزين أزهار النعم

وعم الأجيال والعلوم
من ألكم أساتذة العصر
ليبعثوا يحتذوا وكانوا برره
أهل العلوم وسلم من الورى
بحالة الدنيا بأفكار صعبة
وشاركوا الناس بما قل وجل
وعمروا من البسيطة أو بحره
وعموا الأعمار في نماء
بكل فهم دون ما تناسي
وسموا الأفكار بكل حال
وبالتمهر بكل شأن
إذ جملوا معارف العمران
وحكموا بالبرق والأوتار
وهبطوا تحت البحار والهواء
واخترعوا عجائب الإمكان
وسيطروا واستجلوا التعبير
أمر زاهر بكل ضرب
من المعارف وكل غاية
في العلم والقوة والأموال
في كل ما قرنا له سبيل
ثم فاقوا بأمر جميع الأمم
ألم تكن

ألم تكن معارف الإسلام
ألم تكن دستور أسباب الرقي
وقل على الإجمال قول حق
ومن توانى قد أضاع المجدا
كذا أبو العلاء معري في النجوم
متى استبان عنده الرحيل
وأنتوهم لذا الجليل
فضل بها من لهذه الممالئة
ومنهم علامة الرباط
ابن إبراهيم التادلي الشيخ المضطلع
ما شئت من علم ومن معارف
ومن أدب وعكوف بالعلى
فرهص الدهر به للكمال
هل بعيان بعد ما فرنسكا
فلازم الدرس لدى الأعيان
فلم يزع علما بوقته يعرف
فنال كل العلم والفنونكا
وجمع العقلي والمنقول
وأتقن الموسيقى بالكمال
جمع فيه نوب الصناعة
وقرأنا الرباط في علمها

*معشوقة لسائر الأقوام
ويه ما أمر جو المعمور
من جهز سار في معالي الشبو
وأهمل الشمس بمجاز المجد
بعين أحوال الوقوع والخضوع
في أي وقت كان بالتبجيل
ونحو شيء به الإطلاع دليل
وبعلا ذوي عمير في البلدة
خاتمة الأعلام ذو اغتباط
بعصر نالت الرباط وحكا
ومن جلالة خلت عن كلف
ومن تعلمهم وانقطاع كملا
بشغف العلم نهر مثالا
من العلوم جملها وسائلا
في غيبة عظمى وعلو شأن
لا انتهاء دار يتصرف
1400 وحملوا الفنون والمشكول
ودام في جد وفي تحصيل
وانتهى الإعانة للكمال
علما واستفاد جلالا يراثه
مولى العلوم زامن أملاكها

* I.W., pp. 85-86.

APPENDIX II

CHELLA - SALÉ - RABAT : THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

The area around the mouth of the Bou Regreg has been the site of urban civilization for at least two and a half millennia.

Human settlements in the Bou Regreg area probably existed before paleolithic and neolithic times, for skeletal remains found there are among the earliest known (156). Traces of pebble culture from the ancient paleolithic period have been found on the plateau of Salé (157). But the earliest shred of evidence of material civilization is an oil lamp found by Mr. J. Boube at Chellah dating from the fifth century B.C. Thus, Chellah may have been a Phoenician « *comptoir* » as early as the seventh century B.C., paralleling the Phoenician sites of Lixus and Mogador. Its ruins, still in the course of excavation, show important settlements in Neo-Punic times, at least as far back as the third century B.C. (158).

Above this site are the ruins of Sala Colonia, an important frontier city in the Roman province of Mauritania Tingitane. Its *limes* have been identified some five miles south of Rabat. The site of Sala Colonia is rich in monuments and inscriptions that have only begun to be studied. Meanwhile, there is only the meager historical documentation of Roman geographers. Pliny the Elder, writing early in the first century, simply notes that the city of Salā, near the river of the same name, borders on deserts infested by herds of elephants and populated by many barbarians (159).

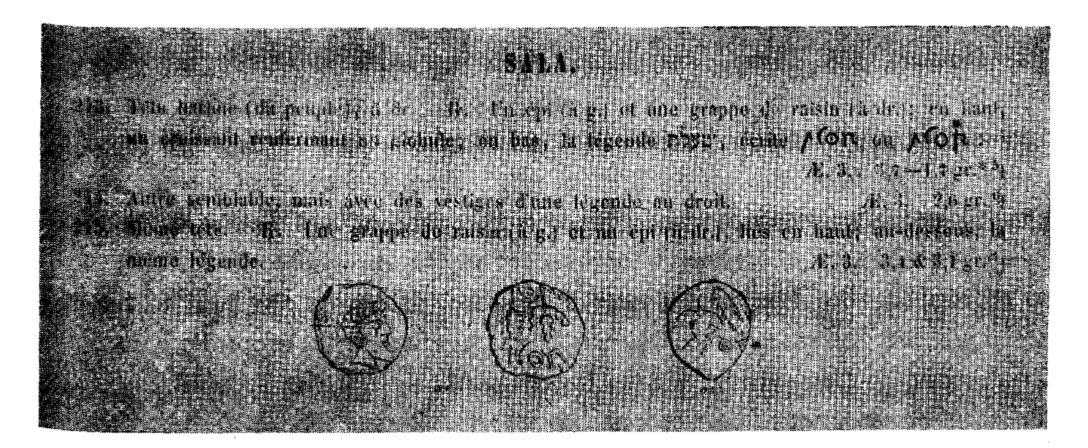
(156) The oldest human fossil found belongs to a pre-Neanderthal human. Cf. H. V. Vallois, « L'homme de Rabat » in *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine,* V. III (1958), pp. 87-92.

(157) G. Choubert and J. Roche, « Note sur les industries anciennes du plateau de Salé » in *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine,* V. I (1956), pp. 9-38.

(158) I am indebted to Mr. Boube, who is directing the excavations for the Musée des Antiquités, Rabat, for kindly communicating this information to me; cf. his recent article, « Fouilles archéologiques à Sala », in *Hesp.,* VII (1966), 23-32. See also J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc Antique* (Paris, 1944), pp. 220ff., and, for a useful summary of the published material, *Maroc,* in the series *Les Guides Bleus* (Paris, 1966).

(159) Cf. R. Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* (Paris, 1924), p. 30.

Muslim Salā, founded only centuries later and on another site across the river, retained the name of these earlier cities. There are linguistic subtleties to this problem: how is it that the name of the site of Carthaginian and Roman Salā changes to Chellah (Arabic: Shāla) and that the city overlooking the ocean on the other bank of the river comes to be called Salé (Arabic: Salā)? In regard to the form of the name, there seems to be some agreement that Shāla and Salā are one and the same word. A coin attributed to the Carthaginian city has on it the Hebrew-Punic inscription *s* (*sh*) -ʿ-*l*-*h*. According to the presumed pronunciation of Punic, this may be read Sāla or Shāla (160). Levi-Provençal has argued



SALA.

214. Autre semblable, mais avec des vestiges d'une légende au droit.

même légende.

Fig. 4. — Phoenician Coins from Sala (C.T. Falbe et J. Chr. Lindberg, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique,* (reworked by L. Muller), Bologna, 1862, v. 3, p. 163.)

that Roman Sāla is a Latinization of the Punic Shāla, one of several examples of Latinized Punic place names in which the *sh* has shifted to *s*, and that the original form Shāla may have been retained in indigenous speech. The Arabs, then, later adopted both forms, using them interchangeably until around the twelfth century. At that time the terms began to be used separately to distinguish the site of the old Roman city from the new Muslim one along the ocean. The Arab historians, at a loss in attributing its name or establishing the time of its foundation, repeat

(160) Cf. M. Tissot, « Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Maurétanie Tingitane », in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1re sér.), IX (Paris, 1878), p. 231, n. 1.

legends: that the name comes from Salā, son of Ham, son of Noah; that Salā was founded across from the older Shāla by Alexander the Great or by Afriqysh the Himyarite (and here incredible etymologies are given to explain the names); that it was the first city built by Berbers in Morocco. an-Nāṣirī, simply states that the foundation of the old cities of Morocco (Ceuta, Tangier, Salé, Chella, Volubilis, and others) goes back to the Europeans (*al-ifranj*) or their predecessors, the Carthaginians. The Jews, in a tradition from the days of Justinian (sixty century), referred to Salé as the city of Solomon. Finally, there is the possibility of a Berber etymology: *āslā,* meaning « rock » and suggesting the topography of either Chella or the site of the Casbah of the Ūdaya (161).

Roman Sāla Colonia was larger than the ruins of Chella, including settlements in much of the Bou Regreg area. On the right bank, across the river from Chella and a little further inland at a place called ᶜAin Ismīr, there are surface ruins of an ancient city. French writers of the first ten years of the Protectorate, evidently on the testimony of Salé's historian, Ibn ᶜAlī ad-Dukkāli (although he does not say so in his historical treatises), call this site the Phoenician city of Koudis. Its fields are said to have reached the present site of Salé, which was used as burial grounds. Koudis, according to this source, fell to the Romans during the second century B.C., and was used thereafter as a center for storing wheat. Later it was destroyed by the ravages of the Vandals (162).

The final bits of evidence for pre-Islamic settlement on the right bank, on or near the site of Salé, are recent aerial photographs which show the point of departure of a Roman road, east of Salé and north of the River. On the basis of these photographs, Roman coins (from the second to fourth centuries A.D.), and stone wine presses found in and around Salé,

(161) E. Lévi-Provençal and H. Basset, « Chella : une nécropole mérinide », in *Hesp.*, XI (1922), 5, n. 1; Ibn Saᶜīd Gharnāṭī (thirteenth century) in *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, ed. E. Fagnan (Constantine, 1900), p. 14; az-Zayyānī (eighteenth century), in « Une description géographique du Maroc d'Az-Zyāny », trans. G. Salmon, *A.M.*, VI (1906), 451-52; *K.I.*, III, 330; J. Goulven, « Notes sur les origines anciennes des Israélites au Maroc », in *Hesp.*, I (1921), 329. I am grateful to Professor Gevirtz for explaining some of the intricacies of Punic, and to Professor G. Colin for suggesting the Berber etymology.

(162) Cf. M. de Périgny, *Au Maroc. Casablanca, Rabat, Meknès* (Paris, 1919), p. 97; *V.T.*, I, 25.

there is little doubt of there having been some form of Roman settlement. Further analysis of the aerial photographs suggests that the main north-south artery of Salé and its eastern wall are continuations of the Roman lines of centuration. Thus, the position and orientation of the Muslim city may have been predetermined by the earlier Roman settlement (163).

The history of the area of the Bou Regreg during the period between the dissolution of the Roman colonies in Morocco and the Muslim conquests is almost wholly unknown (164). During the Vandals' excursions into Morocco, all traces of Roman settlement in the area, except those at Chella, were probably destroyed. In any case, the records of history are silent for the period from the Vandal invasion in the fifth century to the coming of Islam two centuries later.

Kenneth BROWN.

(163) Cf. R. Thouvenot, « Les vestiges de la route romaine de Salé à l'O. Beth », in *Hesp.*, XLIV (1957), 74-75. I am very grateful to Professor Mohamed Naciri for his remarks on the lines of centuration and for his general interest and assistance in my research.

(164) Cf. C. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, I (Paris, 1961), 233ff.

TRANSCRIPTION

Arabic words and names have been transliterated in accordance with the following system:

Arabic Character	Latin Equivalent	Arabic Character	Latin Equivalent	Arabic Character	Latin Equivalent
ء	'	ر	r	غ	gh
ب	b	ز	z	ف	f
ت	t	س	s	ق	q
ث	th	ش	sh	ك	k
ج	j	ص	ṣ	ل	l
ح	ḥ	ض	ḍ	م	m
خ	kh	ط	ṭ	ن	n
د	d	ظ	ẓ	ه	h
ذ	dh	ع	ʿ	و	w
				ي	y

Some familiar Arabic words and names of Moroccan dynasties have been rendered according to their customary spelling in English.

The pronunciation of colloquial Moroccan Arabic often differs greatly from that of classical Arabic or from French practices of transliteration. In those cases where it seemed important to give the colloquial form, I have done so, using the same system of transcription for consonants noted above and adding vowels as their pronunciation is most easily represented to speakers of English. I have called the attention of the reader to colloquial usages by the abbreviation *coll.*, sometimes adding in parentheses the classical equivalent, abbreviated *cl.*

This method presents difficulties, especially in regard to individual and place names. I have tried to explain some of these problems and the intricacies of colloquial Moroccan pronunciation and its various transliteration schemes within the body of the text. Nonetheless, the attempt at consistency had to be compromised at times for the sake of accepted usage: thus, e.g., the French-inspired Salé has been retained as the name of the city under study, rather than Salā (*cl.*) or Sla (*coll.*). On the other hand, the inhabitants of the city are called Slawis from the colloquial, rather than the French Salétins or the classical Arabic Salāwī-s.

ABBREVIATIONS

K.I. Aḥmad b. Khālid an-Nāṣirī as-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (4 vol. in 2; Cairo, 1894).

I.A. Ibn ʿAlī ad-Dukkālī, *Itḥāf ashrāf al-malā bi-baʿḍ akhbār ar-Ribāṭ wa-Salā* (Salé, n.d.), Mss. No. D 11, A.G.R.

I.W. Ibn ʿAlī ad Dukkālī, *Kitāb al-Itḥāf al-wajīz bi-akhbār al-ʿudwatayn li-Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (Salé, 1912), Mss. No. D 1320, A.G.R.

P.A. *Palace Archives*, Rabat.

A.G.R. *Archives Générales de Rabat* (Bibliothèque Générale).

A.A.I. *Archives de l'Alliance Israélite*, Paris.

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V.T. Mission scientifique du Maroc, *Villes et tribus du Maroc. Rabat et sa région* (Vol. I-IV; Paris, 1919).

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E.I. *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

E.I.$_2$ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, second edition.

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3. Archives of the Conservation Foncière de Rabat

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4. Palace Archives, Rabat

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5. Palace Library, Rabat (p. 110)

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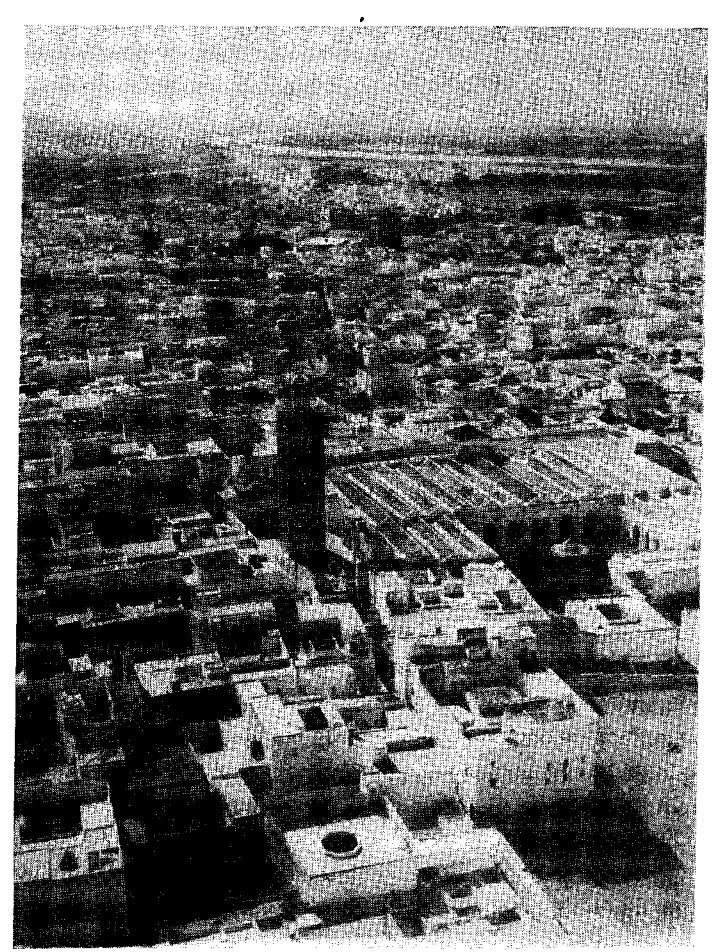
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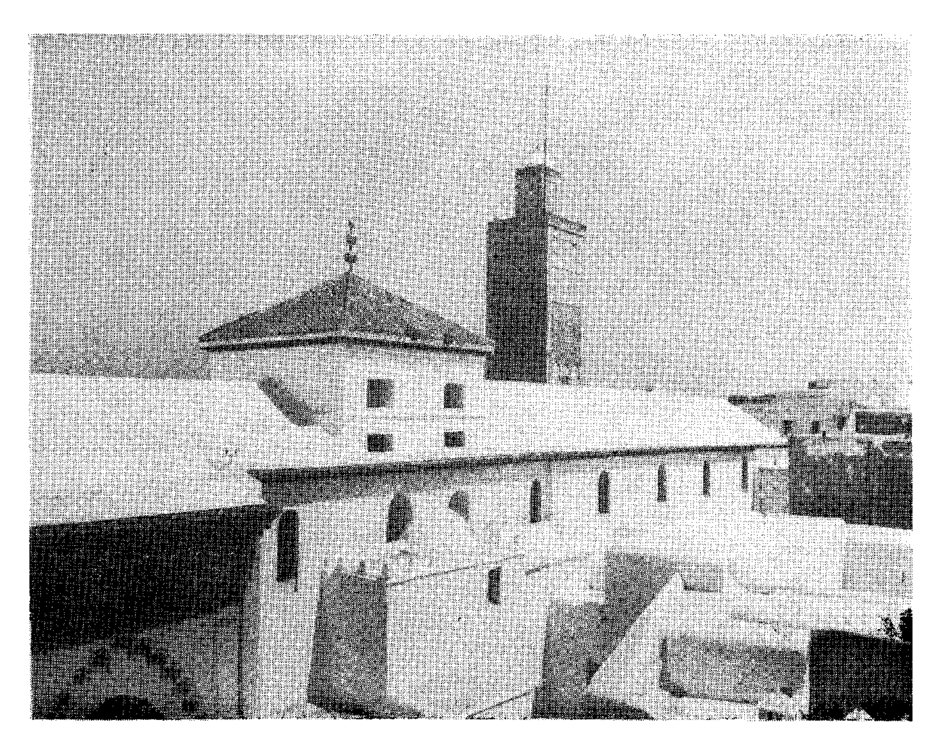
TABLE OF CONTENTS



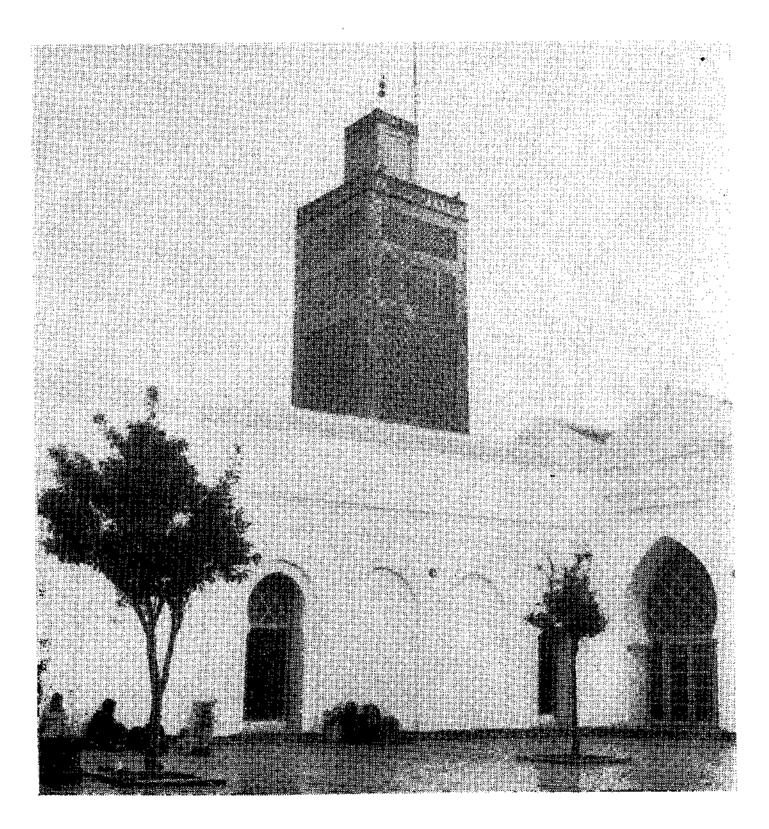
1. Rabat-Salé
(Courtesy
Service de l'Urbanisme, Rabat)



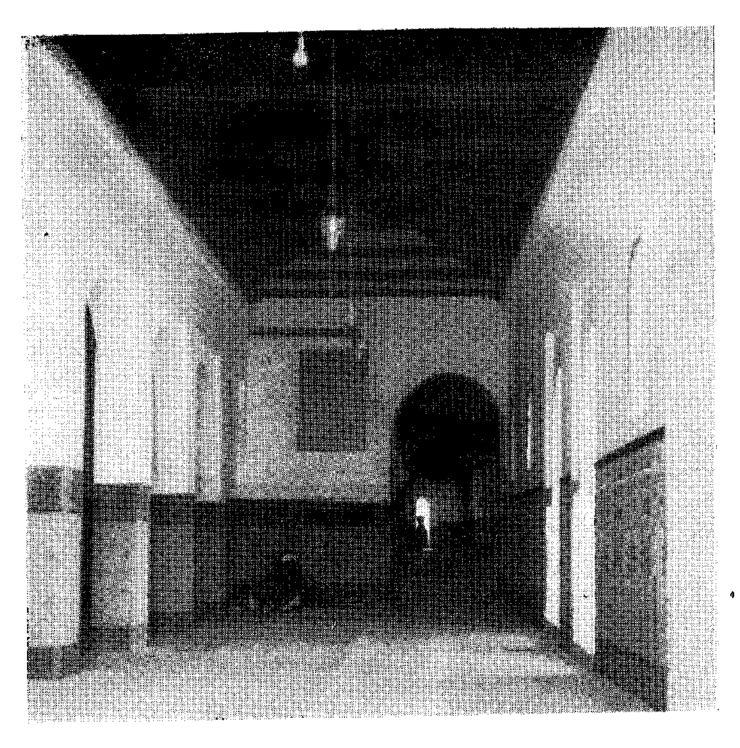
2. Aereal photograph of Salé. Grand Mosque in the foreground. Bou Regreg River in the background.
(Courtesy
Service de l'Urbanisme, Rabat)



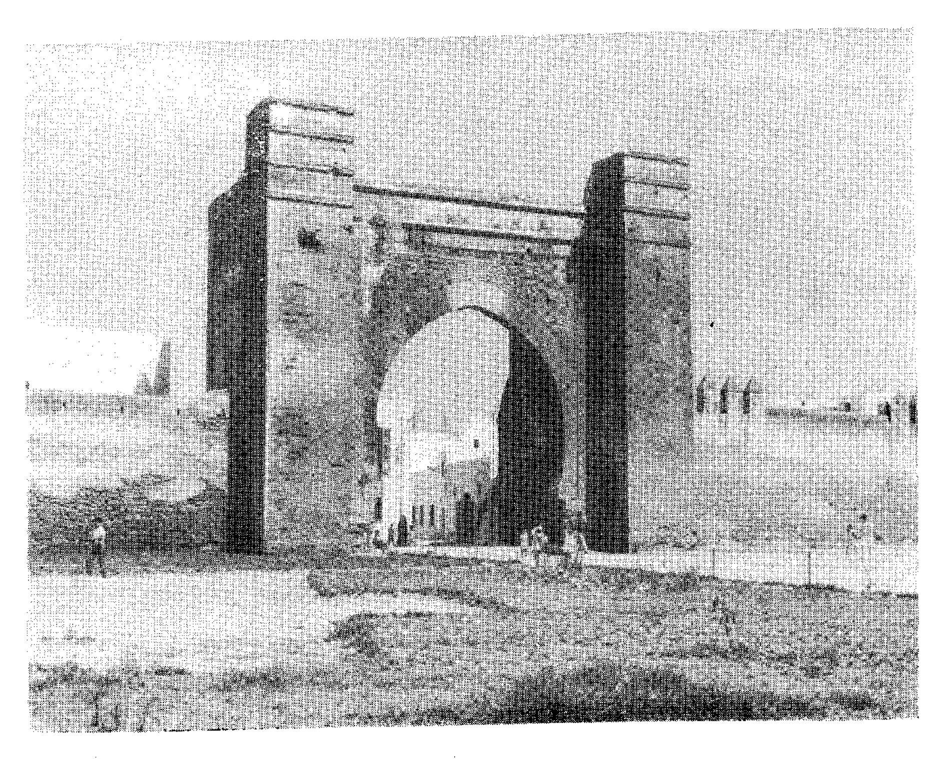
3. The Grand Mosque
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



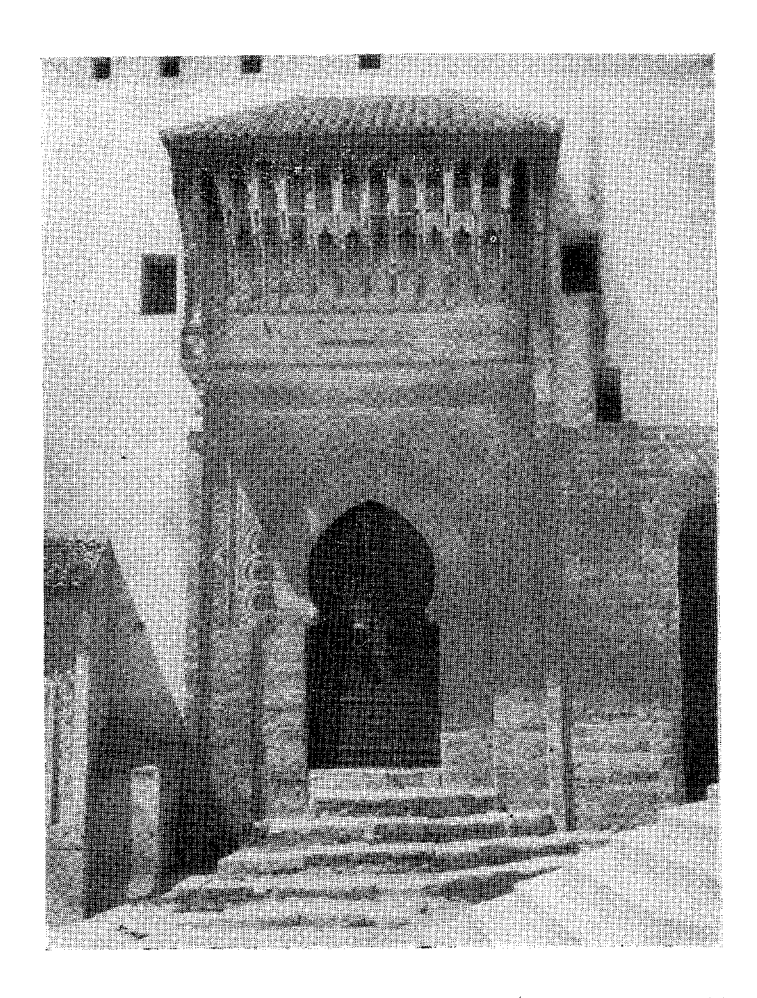
4. The Grand Mosque Minaret and Courtyard
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



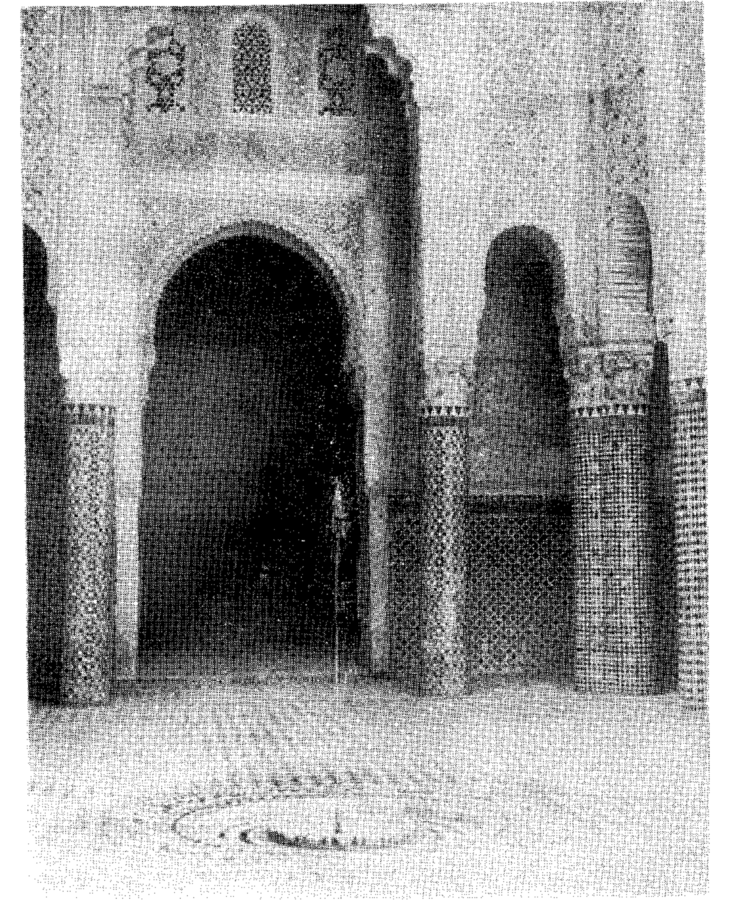
5. The Grand Mosque Interior
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



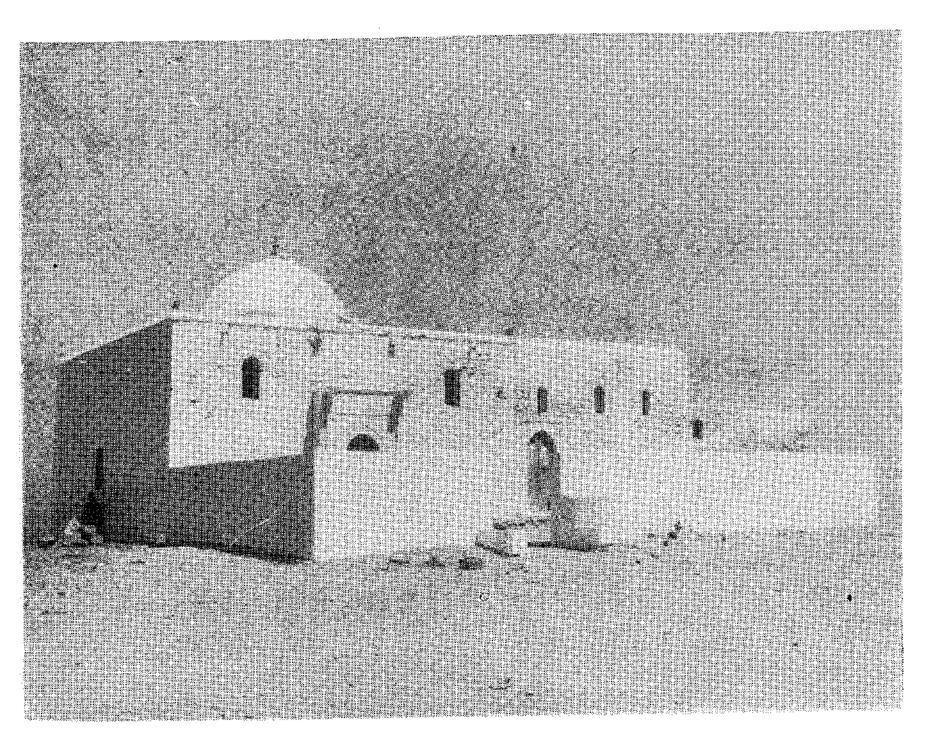
6. Bāb l-Mrīsa
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



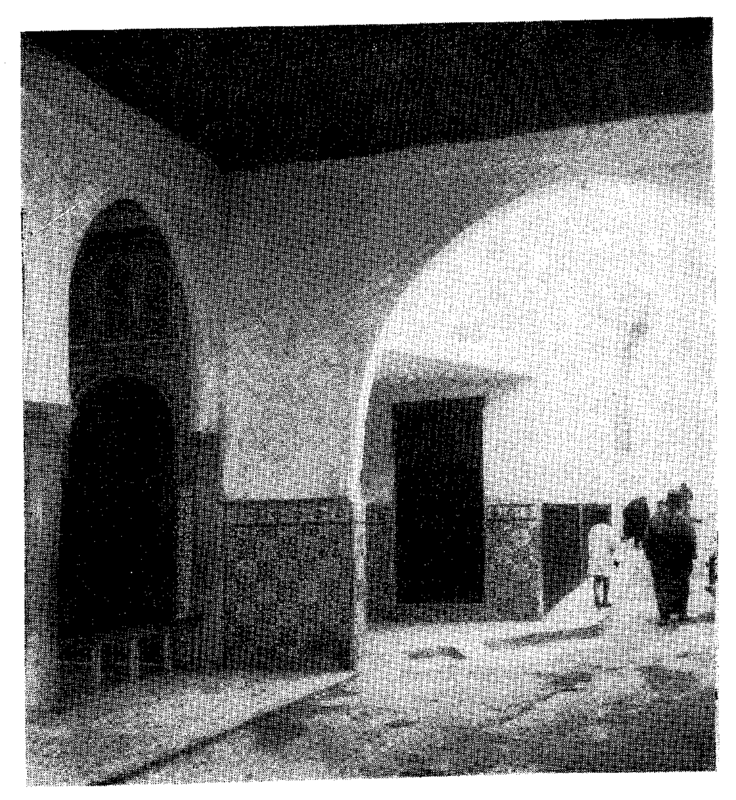
7 al-Madrasa 'l-ᶜUẓmā Entrance
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



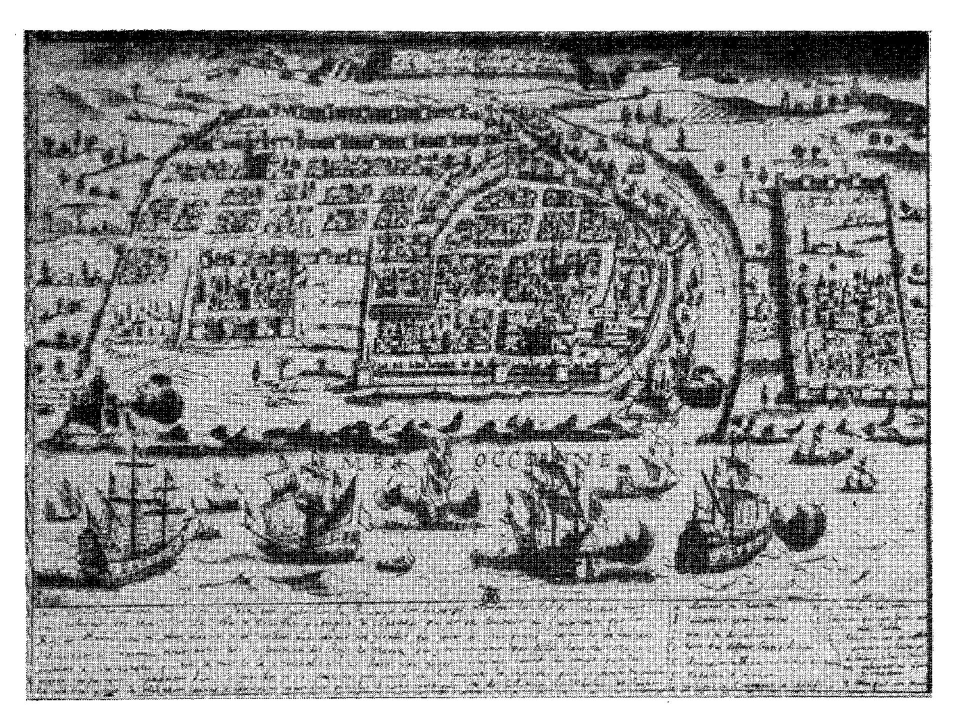
8. al-Madrasa 'l-ᶜUẓmā Interior
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



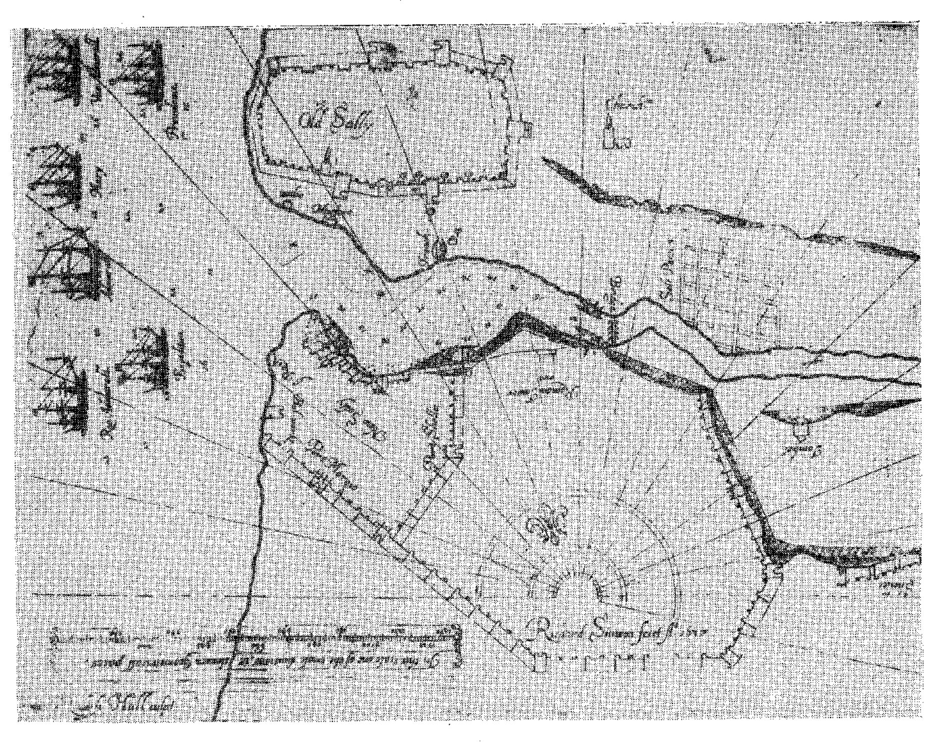
9. Mausoleum of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ᶜĀshir
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



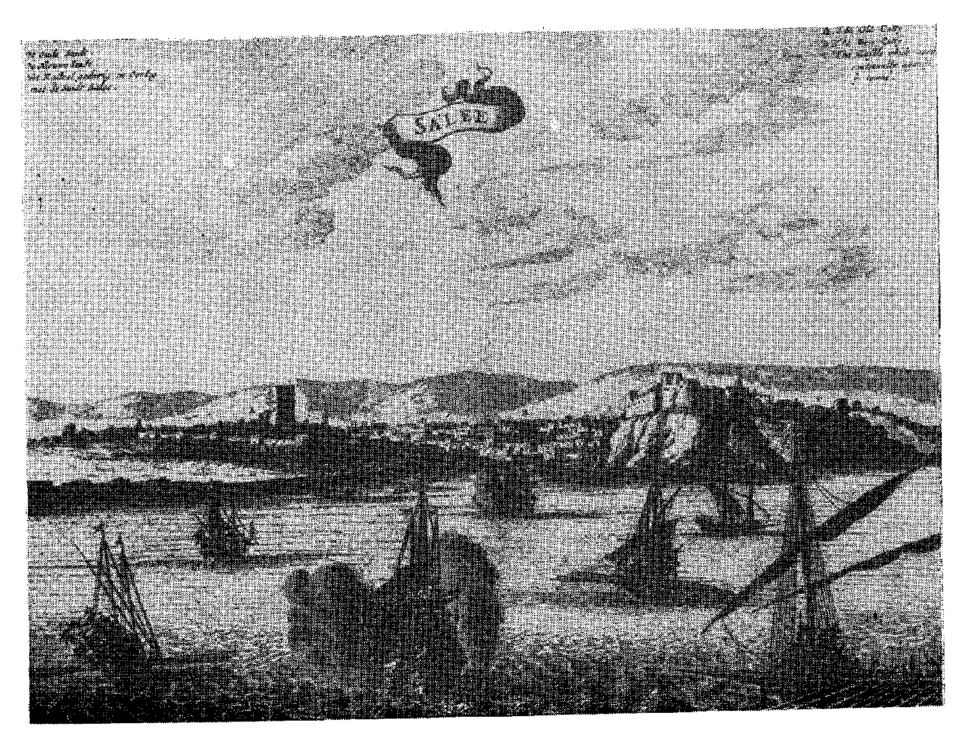
10. Mausoleum of Sīdī ᶜAbd Allah b. Ḥassūn
(Courtesy Office National Marocain du Tourisme)



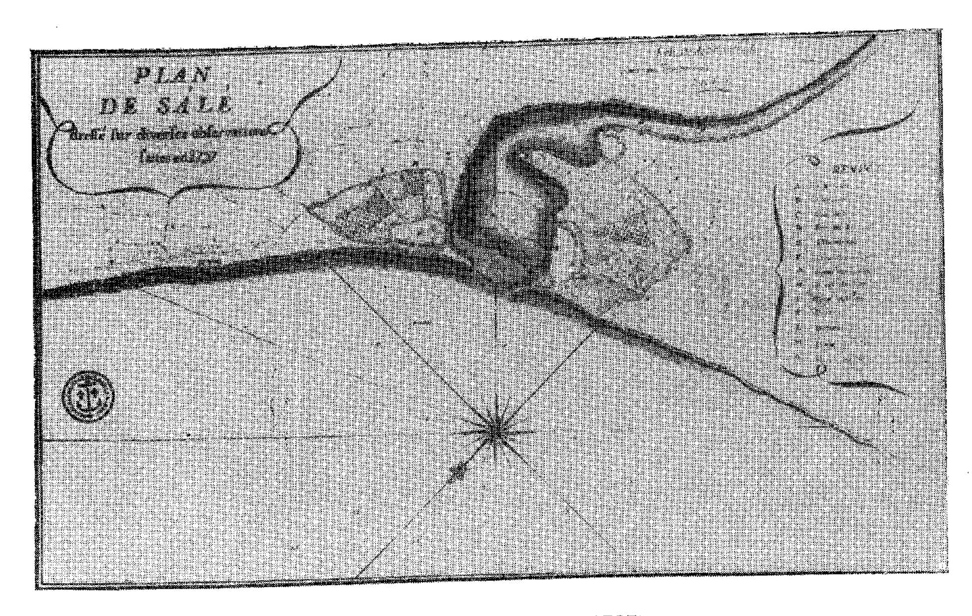
11. Sixteenth Century Drawing of Salé
(Courtesy Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat)



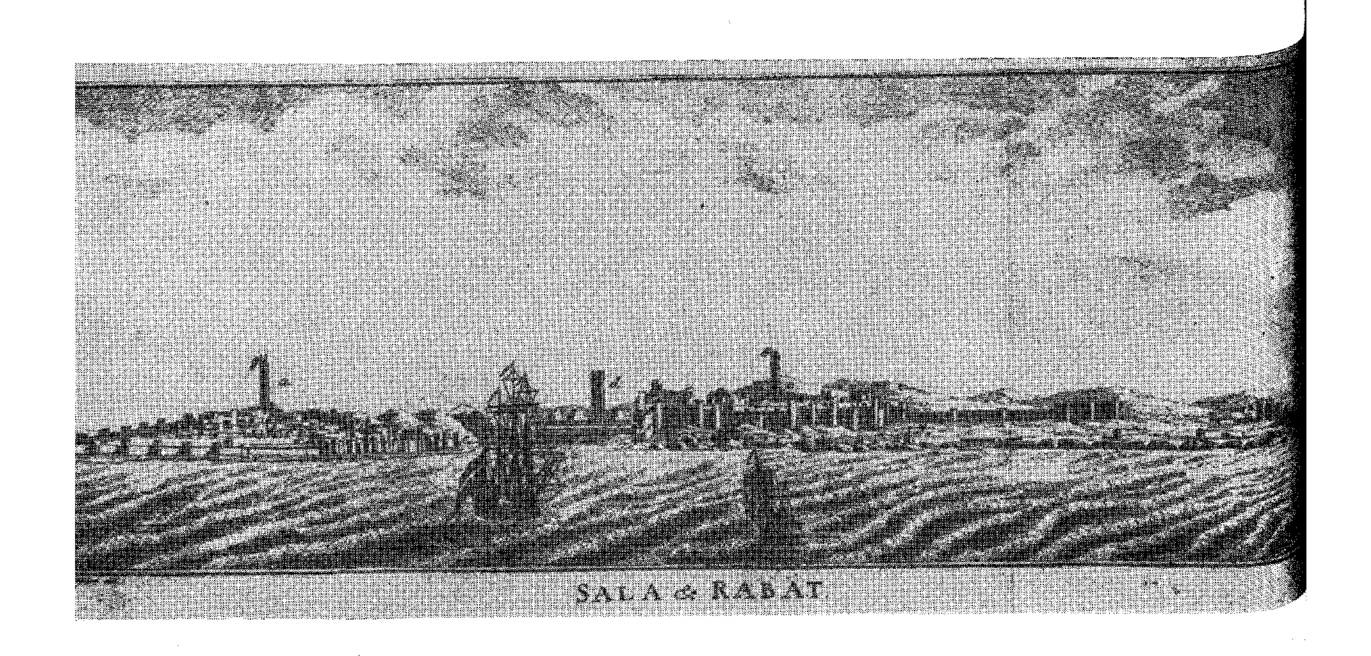
12. Salé and Rabat (1637)
(Courtesy Service de l'Urbanisme, Rabat)



13. Salé and Rabat (1686)
(Courtesy Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat)



14. Salé and Rabat (1737)
(Courtesy Service de l'Urbanisme, Rabat)



15. Salé and Rabat (1768)
(Courtesy Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat)